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# The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE  
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ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION  
OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XXV

JUNE, 1930

Number 9

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the cooperation of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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University of Iowa

Correspondence should be addressed as follows:

*Concerning Manuscripts and Book Reviews*, in general to Roy C. Flickinger, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. But manuscripts from the New England States should be sent to Harry M. Hubbell, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; from the Pacific States to Arthur P. McKinlay, University of California at Los Angeles, California.

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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## Editorial

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### SPECIAL VERGIL NUMBER

At the Nashville meeting of our Association in 1928 the editors-in-chief were instructed to make a special Vergil number of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL for October, 1930. Accordingly, several outstanding Vergilian scholars from three different English-speaking countries have promised papers to be published in this issue, together with certain illustrative material not easily accessible to most high-school teachers, which has been secured through the kind cooperation of Professor H. R. Fairclough of Leland Stanford University and of Dean George Chase of Harvard University. Naturally this issue will come in due course to all subscribers to the JOURNAL and to all members of the three associations which cooperate in publishing it. But some of these may desire extra copies or know of nonmembers who would wish to secure this number. In the advertising section of the present issue, therefore, is provided an order blank to be used for this purpose. Unless such orders are received in advance, the secretary-treasurer will not feel justified in ordering more than the usual reserve stock of October JOURNALS, which would soon be exhausted if an unusual demand for them developed. *Verbum sapienti!*

R. C. F.

## VERGIL OR VIRGIL?

It is extraordinary that at this late date the Anglo-Saxon world is still divided over the proper English spelling of this Roman poet's name. The case for "Virgil" is well expressed in Professor J. W. Mackail's volume in the Our Debt to Greece and Rome Series<sup>1</sup>:

The family name Vergilius or Virgilius seems to have been fairly common both in the Latin and in others of the Italic races. Three at least of the name held important magistracies in the last century of the Republic. The fluctuation between *e* and *i* in spelling no doubt corresponds to an actual difference in pronunciation at different times or by different owners of the name. Republican and early imperial inscriptions invariably give Vergilius; and this is the spelling of the earliest and best MSS of Virgil, both in titles and in the text of *Georgics* iv, 563, where the poet mentions himself by name. The nickname of Parthenias given him by the Neapolitans in his lifetime shows, however, that the pronunciation, if not the spelling, Virgilius, was also then current; it may have been a provincialism. By the fifth century A.D. it had become prevalent, and established itself in common usage throughout the Middle Ages. In spite of the protests of Politian and other scholars, this usage remained unchanged during the Renaissance and until quite recently; and it is as Virgil, not Vergil, that the poet is familiarly known in all the languages of modern Europe. It would be pedantry to attempt to alter this now; and the English-speaking world will probably continue to speak and write Virgil, though in their Latin texts they will find him called Vergilius.

On the opposite side it is commonly stated that the spelling *Virgilius* was due to the influence of *virgo* and *virga* (a magician's rod), the former on account of the Messianic interpretation of *Eclogue* iv by Christian writers and the latter on account of the magical powers that came to be attributed to Vergil. As to Mackail's points — if it could be shown, e. g., that the name "Washington" were sometimes spelled "Wishington" at periods earlier than or subsequent to our War of Independence, that fact would constitute no reason why we should now refer to our first president as "George Wishington." Again, *Parthenias* as applied

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Virgil and His Meaning to the World of To-day*: Boston, Marshall Jones Co. (1922), 153. This series is now handled by Longmans, Green and Co., New York.

to Vergil was either a play on words, in which case no one who is acquainted with puns among the Greeks and Romans will be greatly impressed with the cogency of this argument, or it refers to the virginlike purity of Vergil's mind, in which case the argument entirely disappears.

We have no desire to argue the question here *in extenso*. For Americans the matter is practically a closed issue, since probably not over one per cent of our classical scholars prefer "Virgil." Among literary men and the educated public the percentage may be larger, but not significantly so. But the opinion is commonly held that British usage, as stated by Professor Mackail, is all the other way. Accordingly I was surprised to receive in one of the last letters from my friend, the late W. Rhys Roberts, who himself favored the spelling "Virgil," a clipping from the Literary Supplement of the London *Times* for January 3, 1929, reading as follows:

Sir,—I am loth to trespass again upon your kind indulgence, but please allow me to disclaim responsibility for the form "Virgilia" for no such form ever existed in Latin. In inscriptions and in all good manuscripts the poet's name is spelt "Vergilius," as every scholar knows.

Far be it from me to say whether *The Times* should follow in English the Latin spelling with "e," *as the majority of Latinists now do even in this conservative land*,<sup>2</sup> or keep to the English tradition with "i," which is based on the Italian spelling, which—so far as I can yet discover—appears to be derived from a corruption of the name in the Neapolitan dialect. But I hope even *The Times* will forgive a professional student for liking to spell at least his Latin correctly. Even a worm will turn.

R. S. CONWAY

When I expressed my surprise to Professor Roberts, he did not venture to deny Professor Conway's judgment in the matter, which, it should be noted, had reference only to classical students and not to public usage.

The subject has been mentioned here for the reason that British and Canadian scholars are included among those who have consented to contribute to the special Vergil number mentioned on another page. Now it has always been the practice of

<sup>2</sup> Italics mine.—R. C. F.

the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* to use the spelling "Vergil," and contributors have conformed to this usage, whatever their own preferences may have been. But in the case of foreign scholars whose national practice is different and who are contributing upon our request, it seemed discourteous to coerce their wishes. And if this concession were made to them, it seemed unfair to refuse the same privilege to such of our American contributors as happen to prefer the same spelling. Accordingly, in the October number, for the first and perhaps for the last time, each contributor will be allowed to follow his own bent in this matter. The situation is explained here in advance so that habitual readers of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* will not be puzzled by this apparent aberrancy in the October issue.

R. C. F.

#### THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

The meeting at New Orleans, April 3, 4, and 5, was most enjoyable, as everyone knew it would be. The officers of the Association and the local committee on arrangements deserve our thanks and congratulations for the success of their plans. The attendance was good and represented all parts of our territory; for members were present from twenty-five states, including such far-away states as North Dakota and Colorado. Tulane University, Sophie Newcomb College, and the Isidore Newman Manual Training School (which is not a manual training school) cooperated finely in our entertainment.

It is no depreciation of our hosts to say that any committee on arrangements in New Orleans has unusual natural advantages, especially for pleasing northern visitors. Merely to watch six weeks of spring unfold before the car windows in one day puts one in good humor. The interest and beauty of the city, its unique Old French Quarter, and its famous restaurants give a flavor to a New Orleans meeting that can be savored nowhere else.

The program of papers was given as announced in the March *JOURNAL*, except for the unfortunate absence of two speakers. For our entertainment we were given a reception at Tulane Uni-

versity, a luncheon at Sophie Newcomb College to the accompaniment of exquisitely rendered negro spirituals by the College glee club, a luncheon at the Isidore Newman Manual Training School, a trip to the Old French Quarter under the expert guidance of members of the University staff, an automobile drive over the city, and an excellent presentation of Henry Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas" by the School of Music of Sophie Newcomb College.

At the business meeting the reports of the Secretary-Treasurer showed that the affairs of the Association are in a most satisfactory conditions, our membership being 3,326, the total circulation of the *JOURNAL* 6,243, and our financial condition better than ever before. The detailed reports will be printed in the *JOURNAL*, as usual, in the fall.

The officers elected for next year are: President, O. F. Long, Northwestern University; First Vice-President, Marie B. Denneen, North Carolina College for Women; Secretary-Treasurer, J. O. Lofberg, Oberlin College; new member of the Executive Committee, R. C. Flickinger, University of Iowa. The present Editors-in-Chief were reelected by the Executive Committee. The next meeting will be held on April 2, 3, and 4, 1931, with the University of Indiana, in Bloomington. The proposed new index to Volumes 1-xxv of the *JOURNAL* was approved.

A. T. W.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT

By vote of the Executive Committee free copies of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* for April, May, and June will be sent to anyone who before June 1, 1930, becomes a member of the Association and pays his dues for the fiscal year 1930-31.

W. L. C.

## VERGIL'S DETRACTORS

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By NORMAN W. DEWITT  
University of Toronto

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"Vergil never lacked detractors," wrote Suetonius, "and no wonder, for Homer did not either." This is commendable loyalty, of course, to couple Vergil with Homer; but additional reasons existed, both general and particular, for the prevalence of hostile criticism. In the first place, Vergil had once upon a time, probably in 45 b.c., professed conversion to the philosophy of Epicurus, who commanded his followers to "eschew all learning" and often voiced his contempt for rhetoric in particular. Hence it may be deduced that professional rhetoricians were hostile to Epicureans. In Vergil's case, moreover, the offense was aggravated because he took definite and final leave of Rome, which he very rarely revisited thereafter and never for long sojourns. This dislike of the sacred city could not have escaped general knowledge and by itself was sufficient to keep prejudice alive, but he also celebrated his departure by inditing a lampoon directed at the above-mentioned rhetoricians and "the tribe of pedants dripping with dullness" (*Catalepton* v). That this poem was published during his lifetime cannot be proved, but it certainly came to light after his death and went on record for all time as a declaration of war against at least one class of teachers.

Next in rank below the rhetorician stood the teacher styled *grammaticus*, who taught literature from texts rather than oratory. It is fairly certain that this class was also openly hostile to Vergil and to the Augustans in general. A trace of the bad feeling may be observed in the ancient note to *Eclogue* III, 105, in which are recorded words of the poet to the effect that he had "laid a trap for schoolmasters, who would seek to inquire

whether some deeper meaning was carefully concealed." This titbit of evidence is precious enough, of course, especially for the reason that it hints at a sly humor in the poet; but we have stronger testimony to the existence of a feud. Horace says bluntly (*Epistles* 1, 19, 39 f) : "I do not think it worth my while to visit the schools and canvass the tribes of schoolmasters for favor; I listen only to the famous poets reading their compositions, and I retaliate by reading my own." This manifesto makes known to the whole world that the circle of Maecenas is at war with the schoolmasters.

Speaking of these schoolmasters, it is timely to mention two or three points. In the first place, they dealt almost exclusively with poetry, leaving prose to the rhetoricians. Secondly, the Roman government, though it furnished amusement to the public, assumed no responsibility for education; consequently the masters were obliged to find premises of their own for purposes of instruction and there exercised unlimited *imperium*. It was their right to choose their own texts, and that living poets should court their favor was naturally expected. We may picture these petty tyrants of the schoolrooms, whose slaves, armed with rods, were attending hard by like the lictors of magistrates, introducing their poet friends with appropriate pomp and condescension and bestowing upon them the privilege of winning a cheap renown by reading to the bewildered pupils their latest lays for counterfeit applause. It is of this privilege that Horace proclaims his contempt: "Hence those tears." But the word "tears" is Horatian irony; the actual result was lampoon, detraction, and hate.

To conjecture the number of the grammatici would be hazardous, but no harm will result from aiding the imagination by means of a comparison. An American city of half a million inhabitants will have four thousand public- and high-school teachers. Making liberal deductions for home instruction in ancient times by parents and slaves, it still seems reasonable to assume that the number of teachers of this rank at Rome ran into the hundreds. Horace uses of them the word "tribes," which suggests a considerable multitude. They were certainly more numerous

than either the rhetoricians, mentioned above, or the poets, to whom we now turn.

The poets, as a class, were more ancient than either the rhetoricians or the grammatici. They were organized as a *collegium poetarum* and used as a lodgeroom the temple of Minerva on the Aventine, or the newer temple of Hercules and the Muses in the Circus Flaminus. Membership signified citizenship, which reminds us that the social status of the poets would be higher than that of the other two classes, who were either naturalized Greeks or aliens. Julius Caesar made an effort to increase the importance of the latter by bestowing the citizenship. The poets as a guild, of course, enjoyed recognition by the authorities and were possibly consulted in the choice of plays exhibited at public festivals. This involved competition, with which Horace would have nothing to do. Poets of real genius, however, cannot be found in sufficient numbers at any time to be organized into a guild, and it goes without saying that these writers were poetasters. They were certainly despised by the members of the circle of Maecenas. Horace pours scorn upon them in the same *Epistle* in which he defies the schoolmasters, and sets in opposition to them "the famous poets."

Of these three classes of enemies the rhetoricians were the least dangerous, because their business was to deal with prose rather than with poetry. The conflict with the poets did not endure many years and was at its height when the *Bucolics* were being written. The accident that one of their number bore the plebeian name of *Anser* ("Goose") probably suggested to Vergil to call his friends "The Swans." *Anser*, like *Bavius* and *Maevius*, all three *pessimi poetae*, belonged to Antony's circle and found their teeth drawn when their patron went to the East. Whatever feud survived with other poets was waged by Horace, who was accustomed to spend his winters in Rome and was consequently more accessible to the shafts of envy. With the schoolmasters the battle was never finished so long as Rome remained the literary capital. It was they who collected Vergil's alleged plagiarisms, inaccuracies, and inconsistencies. By the fourth century

the tide has turned, and in the fifth it seems that detraction has been fairly well silenced. It is not our purpose to list all known detractors but rather to offer specimens of their pettiness and meanness.

In *Aeneid* 1, 118 it was asked how swimmers could be seen if the clouds had taken away the light and black night brooded over the deep. The answer was that they could be seen when the lightning flashed. At vs. 535 it was asked why the "stormy Orion" should be mentioned when a special tempest had been started by Aeolus at the request of Juno. The answer is that Ilioneus, who is speaking, did not know of Juno's interference and that Vergil himself knew it only through the Muse; besides, even deities are unable to do harm except as the laws of nature offer opportunity, a principle that the poet diligently observes throughout his work. In III, 203 the question was asked how it was known that three days had elapsed if the darkness was such that night was indistinguishable from day. The answer is that darkness is never so intense that day cannot be distinguished from night; Vergil said *incertos soles*, the distinction being difficult but not impossible.

In III, 515 the query was: "What could 'silent sky' mean?" Various explanations were offered: that "silent" meant "clear," that *tacito* meant *nocturno*, when silence prevails, or that the epithet was transferred from Palinurus to the sky; at any rate the epithet applies to men, because the sound of the celestial sphere turning on its axis, though never ceasing, is not audible; therefore, so far as we are concerned, the sky is silent. In III, 663, where Polyphemus bathes the blood from his eye, a statement of physicians is quoted to the effect that an eye which has been dug out never bleeds. Servius retorts that this particular eye was bored out.

In VI, 554, with reference to the tower of steel that rises into the air, doubt was raised about there being air in the underworld. A certain Pollio, surely not Asinius, is quoted to the effect that Aeneas and the Sibyl trailed the air after them. We may make of this what we please. In VIII, 23, where Vergil mentions "the

reflection of the beaming moon," the physicists are quoted to the effect that the moon does not beam. Two answers are offered: first, that Vergil uses the word "reflection," and the second is that, even if the moon does not beam, it certainly appears to.

Vergil is sometimes accused of impropriety or even moral obtuseness. In *Georgics* I, 286 he says: "The ninth day is better for flight but a poor one for thefts," which compels his defenders to show why he is not recommending to slaves to run away from their masters and on what days they should refrain from stealing. In *Aeneid* I, 71-75 he is condemned for representing Juno as offering a wife to Aeolus, who has one already. It is noted that the reply of Aeolus is noncommittal. In I, 275 Romulus seems to exhibit a strange kind of gratitude when he is proud to be dressed in the skin of the she-wolf, having been nursed by the same. To this it is retorted that Jupiter wore the skin of the she-goat by which he had been nourished. In I, 416 it is asked why Venus should be so "happy" at taking leave of Aeneas. Among the foolish answers to this foolish question is this, that she cannot help being happy where it never rains.

In notes to IV, 144 the desertion of Dido by Aeneas is strangely explained: Dido has been compared to Diana (I, 498-502) and Aeneas to Apollo (IV, 143-50); now Apollo and Diana are brother and sister and consequently may not marry. In V, 517 Aeneas seems to deserve rebuke because he tied a dove, the bird of his mother Venus, to the mast. One explanation is this, that he could soon make it right with Venus. In V, 685 Aeneas is again criticized because, though a king and a great man, he makes a scene over the loss of four ships. To this it is replied that he is not bemoaning the loss but the postponement of departure. In VII, 268 many critics disapproved of Latinus' offering his daughter to Aeneas without being asked, to which it was replied that the ancient custom was to do so if the prospective husband was of higher rank.

The picayune critics often allege that Vergil is careless in his use of words. In *Eclogue* III, 29 they point out that a cow is not called *vitula* after she has had a calf; the proper term is *iuvanca*

or *vacca*. The answer is that Vergil is calling attention to the fact that she is a very young cow. The title *Georgics* is criticized because only two of the four books deal with agriculture, the last two with herds and bees. In *Georgics* IV, 89 f fault is found with the epithet *deterior* of the rejected king bee, since it implies that the one which is kept is *malus*; it is also pointed out that the latter cannot very well reign "in the empty court," since it will not be "empty" if he is there.

In I, 92 the knees of Aeneas are said to shake with cold (*frigore*). The *Odyssey* of Livius Andronicus is quoted in defense, who wrote "the heart of Ulysses froze with fear"; "cold" and "fear" are synonymous. In I, 228 it is asked why Venus should be *tristior*. Is she always sad on account of Aeneas? Servius answers that the comparative is used for the positive; she is not accustomed to be sad. In I, 742 Vergil used the form *solis labores*, while Homer called the sun "tireless." The answer is that Homer never said that the sun does not tire but that he never felt weariness.

The poet is often caught up on questions of fact. In connection with *Georgics* I, 147 the critics point out that Osiris or Triptolemus, and not Ceres, first taught men agriculture. In the first line of the *Aeneid* how could the poet write that Aeneas was the first to come to Italy when he says that Antenor arrived before him (vs. 242)? The answer is that Antenor really came to Cisalpine Gaul, since Italy ended at the Rubicon. In I, 96 he is taken to task for calling Diomedes the bravest of the Greeks when Homer placed him third, after Achilles and Ajax. The anachronism of the bireme in I, 182 is well known and to dullards of course unanswerable. The little critics probably score a useless point in I, 184, where they deny that deer are to be found in the country where the hero is supposed to slay the stags. The fact of the Po's having nine mouths is questioned in I, 245, where the number seven is preferred. Equally trifling is the objection to "the race of Hector" in I, 273, on the ground that Hector had no descendants in Italy. Mention of "the swift Hebrus" in I, 317 elicits the information that the river is really sluggish and

freezes over in the winter. Achaemenides in Book III furnished some petty problems. In vss. 645-48 the Greek is made to say that he had been three months in Sicily, although it was seven years since Aeneas had left Troy, and the adventure of Ulysses with the Cyclops occurred at the beginning of his wanderings. In vs. 593 the Greek is represented as having a great growth of beard. The critics object that men in the heroic age regularly wore long beards. The answer is that "he had neglected to comb it." In vss. 623-27 he is made to say that he saw Polyphemus dash out the brains of two of his companions, while Homer said four. The answers are worthy of the question: perhaps the poet meant "two at a time" or "he saw only two; because of fright he did not know how many were killed."

The sharp eyes of the little critics detected many small inconsistencies in the *Aeneid*. In I, 126 f they asked how Neptune could raise his "peaceful head" above the waves if he was "grievously angry." The answer was that a "natural" epithet must be distinguished from a "temporary" epithet. In I, 170 the question arose why Neptune, if he was favorable to the Trojans, did not save all the ships. Two answers were found for this: first, he could not remedy what had already happened; second, if all the ships had been saved, the plot of the subsequent story would have been ruined. There is a subtle point in the allegation that *cuncti dicto paremus* is inconsistent with *paucisque relictis* in III, 189 f. The answer is that "all are agreeable," not "all set out." Aeneas is accused of shiftiness when he supposes Jupiter to be his *auctor* in v, 17 and calls Apollo his "guide" in vi, 59. To this Vergil's friends found two answers: first, that it was the custom to appeal to Jupiter, particularly in making the voyage from Africa to Sicily; secondly, that the Harpy Celaeno in III, 251 declared that Jupiter had revealed the future to Apollo.

If Vergil's detractors were keen, his defenders were proportionately ingenious. The former demanded to know how in v, 722 the form of Anchises could descend from the sky when the sainted hero was inhabiting Elysian fields below. The answer was threefold: first, souls inhabit the skies, only phantoms the

world below; second, it was the illusion of a dream; third, Jupiter had dispatched some power (*potestas*), which took on the countenance of Anchises in order to seem impressive. The student may take his choice.

Bavius and Maevius, poets of Antony's circle and hostile to Vergil, ridiculed the use of *hordea* ("barleys"), in *Georgics* I, 210; such a person, they claimed, would next be saying "wheats." In *Aeneid* II, 138 others suggested the reading *duplicis natos* upon the grounds that *dulcis natos* was commonplace. There is a certain mystery about the propriety of denoting Apollo as *pulcher* in III, 119; the satirist Lucilius seems to have raised the point on the assumption that the word once meant "passé." How closely Vergil sometimes grazes the tone of popular Latin is suggested by the objection to *avunculus* in III, 343, though this is not so bad as saying "Uncle Hector" in English. Servius himself describes the diction of Book IV as *paene comicus*, i.e. "almost colloquial." The critics condemned *nepos Veneris* in vs. 163, because the inference was that Venus was a grandmother, a dignity not without its drawbacks for the goddess of love! The last line of Book VIII, "taking upon his shoulders the glory and the destiny of his descendants," was stamped as undignified and savoring of the style of "the new poets." To modern readers it seems a magnificent verse. There was a controversy over the appropriateness of *fertur* in the sense of *dicitur* in IX, 82; this also seemed undignified. The use of *ligno*, usually "stick of firewood," for "spearshaft" in IX, 413 was stigmatized for a similar reason, as was *tinguat equos* in XI, 914. There were some to whom *prwendere* in the sense of "overtake" seemed too colloquial in XII, 775.

No account of picayune criticism would be complete without mention of the controversy over the *ingens sus* which Aeneas was to find with the thirty young ones on the banks of the Tiber. The fundamental question was: Where did the beast come from? Servius was of the opinion that the Trojans had brought her from Troy after the manner of travelers, that they lost her during the stay at Cumae in Campania, and found her again when

they reached the mouth of the Tiber. This theory involves the deduction that her ladyship employed her feet very diligently during the interval. Others, accepting the belief that she had been brought from Troy, interpreted the oracle to mean that the appointed city should be founded where she should first give birth to young. There was another school of interpreters that believed the Trojans to have followed her to the site of Alba Longa, where the new city was located. It is of interest to note that in Cicero's day the carcass of the beast was kept in brine at Lavinium and exhibited to tourists.<sup>1</sup> The thirty young ones were more permanently preserved in bronze.

While reviewing these antics of the captious schoolmen it is mere justice to point out that they were not all of this class. Asconius Pedianus and Probus of the first century, both of them champions of Vergil, were sound scholars. After this century good critics are less numerous; but Donatus in the fourth century again has substantial claims to our respect. Servius, who follows him and flourishes in the Indian Summer of Roman pagan scholarship at the beginning of the fifth century, is in the main a sensible man with a prudent regard for the morals of the young. His commentaries, it is manifest, passed from hand to hand and by subsequent additions took on the character of a variorum edition. Nevertheless the best parts of the work are his own, and they exhibit to us the last stage in that process by which the poet was rescued from his calumniators, soon to be elevated in the Middle Ages to the rank of a supreme authority in matters of fact and style alike. It is through his persistent refutation of the picayune critics that we are enabled to learn the substance of their objections. From the day of the publication of the *Aeneid* they had girded themselves to wear down the poet's title to fame at all costs. The paradox of the situation is this, that at the same time they were using his work as a textbook.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Varro, *De Re Rustica* II, 4, 18.

## ZOOLOGICALLY SPEAKING

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By LILLIAN B. LAWLER  
Hunter College

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All civilized peoples, I suppose, have had in their literature or tradition a rather large body of animal stories, and we should expect that the Romans were no exception. And yet, even with this expectation, we cannot fail, when we set about searching for such stories and references in Roman literature, to be utterly amazed at the volume of them. Beyond a doubt, animals were of great importance in Roman civilization — far more so than in that of our own day — and the Romans recognized that importance. Varro discusses the matter and points out a few outstanding phases of it, viz. that the very name of Italy is derived from *vituli*, "bullocks"; that the earliest Romans were sheep-raisers; that Rome was founded on the Parilia, festival of the goddess of flocks; that fines were estimated in terms of sheep and oxen; that the oldest copper coinage bore the figure of an ox; that, when the city was founded, a bull and a cow plowed the space for the wall; that purifications were made by the Suovetaurilia; and that many Roman *nomina* and *cognomina* were derived from the names of animals.

Keller<sup>1</sup> has treated in detail, and from a zoological standpoint, all the animals mentioned in all ancient literature. It is not the purpose of this paper to retrace his steps at all, but rather to direct attention for a few moments to the attitude of the Romans towards animals in general and to some of the particular animals, the memory of which has been preserved to us in Latin literature or by archaeological finds.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Otto Keller, *Tiere des Class. Altertums in Culturgeschichtlicher Besiehung*: Innsbruck, Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung (1887); and *Die Antike Tierwelt*: Leipzig, Engelmann (2 vols., 1909 and 1913).

Relatively few of these animals have become known to us through the medium of archaeology alone, but sometimes those that have so reached us are unforgettable. There are, e. g., the two memorable dogs of Pompeii — the spirited one of the CAVE CANEM mosaic, and the pathetic one, asphyxiated while chained to his post, and preserved in the form of a plaster cast. No less appealing are the pampered pets whose epitaphs are occasionally found. We may cite one instance — the epitaph of the dog Margaret, in the translation of Rogers and Harley:<sup>2</sup>

France was my mother; wealthy Ocean's shell  
Gave me a name that suits my beauty well.  
Shaggy wild beasts I hunted to their kills,  
Running them boldly o'er dim woods and hills.  
I never knew the grip of heavy chain,  
Nor felt on snowy limbs the lash's pain.  
For soft on knight's or lady's lap by day,  
And tired at night on fresh-strown bed I lay.  
In dumb dog-language said more than I might,  
None feared my bark was prelude to my bite.  
But now through fatal travail am I dead,  
And under tiny headstone burièd.

But it is Latin literature, rather than archaeology, which has preserved for us the record of most of these animals of the Romans. Latin literature is filled with accounts of divination by means of the entrails of animals or by their actions, of sacrifices of animals, and of the use of animals, or their skins, in religious ceremonies. It abounds in accounts of real hunts, or of beast-fights or hunts in the arena. We read elaborate accounts of the almost numberless varieties of rare animals and fish devoured at great banquets. We read long catalogues of varieties of fish in Ovid's *Halieutica*, or in the *Mosella* of Ausonius, or in the works of Pliny the Elder. We encounter, in the works on agriculture, all the beasts and insects of the countryside, helpful or hurtful to man.

More than this, we find that even the figures of speech and of thought of Roman writers are rich in details of animal life and

<sup>2</sup> *The Life of Rome, Illustrative Passages from Latin Literature*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1927), 79.

behavior. A warrior in battle is as a mighty elephant, or a wounded she-bear, or a hungry wolf, or a bull, or a lion; a crippled ship is like a wounded snake; a throng of people is like a flock of birds, or a swarm of bees. Vergil is particularly rich in figures of this sort.

Nor was the literary interest of the Romans confined to this matter of figures. Some of them, notably the Emperor Geta, were interested in the cries of animals and took pains to use the correct verb for each different animal: e.g. lambs *balant*, while pigs *grunniunt*, doves *minurriunt*, horses *hinniunt*, and so on.

Particular qualities in men were often ascribed to an animal origin, as when Vergil has Dido call Aeneas the foster child of a tiger, because of his hard-heartedness, or when Horace traces the origin of human anger to the lion.

Superstitions were frequently associated with animals. For instance, there was a notion that those who had their eyes anointed with a mixture made from serpents' eyes beaten up with honey were proof against the sight of nocturnal specters. Again, it was believed that if one ate a hare, he became beautiful for seven days. (The Emperor Alexander Severus ate one every day!) If one roasted the left foot of a chameleon with an herb and carried the resultant mixture in a wooden vessel, one became invisible. If one mixed the blood of certain birds, one obtained a serpent; and if one ate the serpent, one could understand the language of the birds.

The use of animals and of animal parts in incantations and love potions was very common.

Animal taboos appear, also: e.g. it was unlawful for the Priest of Jupiter to ride on a horse, and the ritual of the Magna Mater forbade the eating of pork or of fish.

Fabulous animals and strange monsters abound in the literature and legends of the Romans. Even leaving out of consideration all the famous animals and half-animals of Graeco-Roman mythology, we still meet tales of winged serpents; griffins; men with dogs' heads; men with feathers, who live on perfumes; the phosphorescent birds, stiff-legged elk, and unicorns of the Hercynian

Forest; talking fish; two-headed snakes; and strange beasts like the *leucrocotta*, which was as big as a wild ass, had the legs of a stag, the neck, tail, and breast of a lion, the head of a badger, cloven hoofs, a mouth split up as far as the ears, and one continuous bone for teeth, and boasted the power to imitate the human voice.

Then, again, we read of such "freaks" as boneless fish, partridges with two hearts, hares with two livers, pigs or lambs with two heads or five feet, goats with wool, chickens with three legs, pigs with human heads, and hens that changed into cocks. And most of these hapless creatures, be it noted, found their way inevitably not to a life of ease in an ancient equivalent of a Barnum side show, but to a speedy death before the altars of the gods, as things ominous and portentous.

Animals noted for their great size were not rare. Pomponius Mela tells of serpents so huge that, though they dwelt in rivers, they were able to rear on high and catch flying birds for food. Augustus decorated his villa at Capua with the bones of animals so huge as to be called "bones of the giants." The same emperor once exhibited a snake fifty cubits in length. Varro tells of a pig the flesh of which was one and one-fourth feet deep, from skin to bone; and of a sow so fat that it could not get up, even when a mouse ate away some of its flesh, built a nest in the cavity, and there reared a brood of young. During the First Punic War, the Roman army, under Regulus, after a mighty fight in which engines of war were used and many men killed, captured a snake 120 feet long, the skin and jaws of which were preserved in Rome down to the time of the Numantine War.

Occasionally we read of actual "fakes." Apuleius tells us of a robber who dressed in a bear's skin, was taken to a rich man's house, and actually passed as a tame bear! At night he let in his comrades to steal, but was himself killed by the owner's dogs. He remained "in character" to the end, Apuleius says admiringly.

Stories of transformations into animals abound, even if we omit the large number of such transformations as form a part of Graeco-Roman mythology. Men are changed into beavers, frogs,

swans, ferrets, birds, or dragons. Mention of the werewolf, a man by day and a wolf by night, recurs persistently. Apuleius is especially rich in stories of transformations; and his *Lucius, or the Ass*, the story of the trying adventures of a man changed by mistake into an ass, reads like a fairy tale.

Legends of animal ancestors are not unknown; e.g., both Scipio Africanus and Augustus were reputed to have been sons of serpents.

The spontaneous generation of animals from water, slime, or dead flesh, and of bees from the putrid carcass of an ox, seems to have been accepted as a fact.

Fabulous activities, or unnatural conduct on the part of animals, are often recorded. Thus, we read of ducks that live on poisons; of dolphins that exhibit joy on hearing music; of birds that shoot their feathers at enemies; of old stags that become young again after eating snakes; of serpents guarding pearl oysters; of hippopotami letting their own blood after overeating; of a serpent that barked when the Tarquins were expelled from Rome.

Accounts of mechanical animals are much less frequent among the Romans than among the Greeks. The Romans, in the main, seem to have been content to retail the stories of the Trojan horse, the mechanical dove of Archytas, etc., rather than to experiment much themselves.

Stories of unusual power, in the case of individuals or races, over animals are not rare. Epic figures such as Lausus, or Mesaspus, or Amycus, are distinguished by the epithets "conqueror of beasts," or "subduer of horses." The Marruvians, the Marsians, and the Psylli are noted for their power to charm and subdue serpents, to counteract their poison, and to cure snake-bite. The Thracians, with their powerful witchcraft, are able to subdue all sorts of wild animals. In this connection, we should note a suggestion given by Varro that, if anyone wants a dog to follow him, he should throw to it a cooked frog. Physical power over animals is well illustrated by the case of Entellus, who broke the skull of a bull with a single blow.

Intelligence and sagacity on the part of animals, even apart

from that of the preternaturally wise animals of the fables, is often recorded by the Romans. Lucan and Vergil speak of the sagacity of the sea fowl in detecting a coming storm. Pliny the Elder tells of an elephant which could write in Greek, and asserts that elephants in general have a religious veneration for the sun, moon, and stars and are able to comprehend what is said to them. Lions, also, we learn, can be sagacious; and if one implores them, especially if one be very weak or a woman, they will have pity and refrain from slaughter. The story of Androcles and the lion is quite familiar. Similar is the story of the man who, at the apparently earnest solicitation of a lion, removed a bone stuck between the beast's teeth, and was rewarded by gifts of game which the grateful animal brought to him. Panthers, too, could be intelligent; Pliny tells of one that sought the aid of a man in removing her young from a pit and that fawned upon him in gratitude.

The intelligence of horses seems not to have been such a commonplace in antiquity as it is today, but instances are recorded. During the siege of Veii, horses of a fallen leader came from that city to Rome with a palm branch, to announce the victory. Again, in the Secular Games in the Circus, in the time of the Emperor Claudius, the charioteer Corax was thrown out at the starting-post, but his chariot horses took the lead and kept it, doing everything against the other competitors that could have been done by the most skillful charioteer.

Even goats could be sagacious. Once two met on a narrow bridge, where they could not turn around nor back off. One immediately lay down flat, and the other walked over him.

Trained animals are mentioned occasionally — elephants that could walk the tight rope, asses and other animals that wrestled, boxed, or danced. Varro's wild boars and roes came for their feed at a set hour, often in a pageant, following a slave garbed as Orpheus.

Singular devotion on the part of particular animals to particular human beings is often noticed. Perhaps the best-known instance in Latin literature is that of the dolphin which fell in love with a boy, swam and played with him, and carried him on its

back, but was finally slain by the townspeople for attracting too great crowds of sight-seers! Similar stories are told of several other dolphins. We read of a pet eagle which threw itself on the funeral pyre of its little mistress; of a pet snake which saved its master from robbers; of dogs which made their way back from Rome to Umbria, to their former masters; of the dog of Titius Sabinus, which could not be driven away from his executed master's body but carried bread to the mouth of the corpse as it lay on the Steps of Wailing, and later, when the body was thrown into the Tiber, tried to pull it to shore.

Of especially pampered or favored animals we have numerous accounts. In the tenth book of the *Aeneid* we find Mezentius, in grief at the death of his son Lausus, addressing his beloved horse Rhoebus, and then riding off upon it to death in the thick of the battle. In the twelfth book of the *Aeneid* the swift steeds of Turnus are petted, groomed, and adorned before the battle by the admiring charioteers. Silvia's pet stag, slain by Iulus and the imminent cause of the war between the Italians and Aeneas, had been fondled, tamed, and petted by its mistress. Julius Caesar had a horse with feet so cloven into toes that they looked almost human. Foaled on his own estate, it was reared with great care for Caesar and would permit no one else to ride it. In his later years, Caesar dedicated a statue of it before the temple of Venus Genitrix. Augustus erected a tomb to his favorite horse. Tiberius kept a pet snake, which he fed with his own hands. Caligula was passionately fond of Incitatus, a horse of the Green faction in the Circus — so much so that he often dined and slept in the stable with it, had soldiers posted to ensure silence in its neighborhood the day before a race, gave it a marble stall, an ivory manger, purple blankets, a jewelled collar, and a house, and even planned to make it consul. Elagabalus sent fine grapes to his stables for his pet horses, and fed his dogs on goose-livers and his lions on parrots and pheasants. The same emperor kept tame lions and leopards, and often ordered them to get up on the couches with his dinner guests — to their great consternation. At one time he collected a large number of snakes, and then playfully released them

among the crowd waiting for the beginning of the Circus games. He was fond of sending jars of frogs, scorpions, snakes, or flies to his friends, or, reversing matters, often ordered them to bring him 10,000 mice, or 1,000 weasels, or 1,000 shrewmice. His chariot was drawn now by four elephants, now by four dogs, or stags, or lions, or tigers. At one banquet he served the heads of 600 ostriches, inviting his guests to extract and eat the brains.

Birds were a hobby of Alexander Severus. In his aviaries were peafowl, pheasants, ducks, and partridges, but especially doves, of which he had 20,000. At dinners he liked to watch dogs playing with young pigs, or partridges fighting. Agrippina, wife of Claudius, had for a pet a thrush that could imitate speech. Britannicus and Nero had a starling and some nightingales that could speak Greek and Latin. Of pet birds owned by commoners, we remember, perhaps, first of all, the sparrow immortalized by Catullus and the parrot lamented by Ovid. Then, we read of a goose that was the constant companion of a philosopher and was given a splendid funeral when it died. And we hear of a shoemaker's pet, a raven, that flew each morning to the Rostra, saluted by name Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus, greeted the Roman populace, and then returned to the shop. When a rival shoemaker slew it in anger, the enraged populace gave it an elaborate public funeral and a tomb, and put the murderer to death.

In a villa at Baiae, Antonia, the wife of Drusus, placed earrings upon a pet fish. L. Lucullus pierced a mountain and let in the sea to his fish pond. Q. Hortensius kept a small army of fishermen to catch food for his pet fish, fed them with his own hands, and never killed or ate one of them. We even hear occasional rumors of the feeding of slaves to pet fish.

Of choice animals for which fabulous prices were paid we may instance the white nightingale bought for Agrippina for 6,000 sesterces, the ass from Reate that sold for 60,000 sesterces, the horse of Seius that brought 100,000 sesterces, and the team of asses that exacted from Q. Axius 400,000 sesterces.

The subject of omens and prophecies involving animals is so large a one that it would make a whole paper in itself, and can be

touched upon but briefly here. It involves such general prophecies as Vergil's in the fourth *Eclogue* — that in the golden age to come wool will not be dyed but will grow in colors on the rams. It involves also a consideration of certain animals to which are habitually ascribed certain prophetic powers: e.g. the hedgehog conceals himself in his hole when the wind is about to change; the dog howls when Hecate is near; owls are always ill-omened — and when Caesar disregarded that accepted tradition, divination, says Lucan, ceased to be an art. Crows, bats, and ravens, likewise, are unlucky. Twin snakes are a symbol of death throughout Latin literature, and especially in the case of Laocoon. On the other hand, a snake that glides from an altar and tastes the sacrifice is a portent of good.

Some of the particular animal portents in Roman legend are the four white horses seen by Aeneas' followers when they first beheld Italy; the white sow and her thirty young, marking the site of the city that Ascanius was to found; the horse's head found by the Carthaginians as they built their city; the bees that swarmed in the palace of Latinus, portending a foreign husband for Lavinia; and the vultures which proclaimed, by their flight, that Romulus, and not Remus, should be the ruler of Rome.

Some of the animal portents which are said to have occurred during historical times are the following. Before most disasters an ox, or a cow, or a cock, or a dog, spoke in Latin — one ox in the words, *Roma, cave tibi*. Swarms of wasps or of bees in the Forum or in other unusual places often portended a defeat, notably during the Second Punic War. For vultures or other birds to fly into a building, or for wild animals to enter the city, was a bad sign; such portents occurred likewise during the Punic Wars. When Flaminius, in 219 B.C., was thrown over his horse's head, it was an omen of evil; he was killed in the battle that ensued. Mice are said to have foretold the Marsian War by gnawing the silver shields at Lavinium, and to have foretold the death of Carbo at Clusium by gnawing his shoe latches. The action of P. Claudius, during the First Punic War, in drowning the sacred chickens, to let them drink, since they refused to eat, and the en-

suing defeat, are well known, as is also the story of the servant who, during the Samnite War, reported falsely that the sacred chickens ate favorably and who paid for his mendacity by being placed in the front rank, where he met instant death. Worse than this is the case of the Emperor Galba, from whom, before his death, the sacred chickens flew away! Familiar, also, is the story of how an eagle foreshadowed the greatness of Tarquin by removing and then replacing his cap. Similar stories of eagles foretelling power are narrated of the Emperors Claudius, Vespasian, Diadumenianus, and others. For an animal being sacrificed to escape and spatter the bystanders with blood was a dire omen, and one which foretold death to the consul Flamininus, to Pompey, to the Emperors Galba, Vitellius, Severus, and others.

Other animal portents are recorded in connection with emperors. Before Caesar died, wolves were heard howling, and the sacred horses, kept near the Rubicon, wept. As Octavianus walked along the seashore one day a fish leapt out of the sea and fell at his feet — an omen of future greatness. On the day when Octavianus was taking the auspices in his first consulship, twelve vultures appeared to him, as they had to Romulus. An eagle is said to have portended both the principate and death of this same emperor. When the future Emperor Galba's grandfather was sacrificing, an eagle snatched the intestines from his hand and carried them to an oak tree. When the augurs prophesied that one of his family would be emperor, he said laughingly: "Surely — when a mule has a foal." Later, a mule did foal, legend says, and Galba did become emperor. A raven croaked ἔσται πάντα καλῶς on the Capitol before Domitian's death. On the day when Severus was born, a dove laid a purple egg. On the day when Diadumenianus was born, twelve purple sheep were produced on his father's estates. A snake coiled about the head of the younger Maximinus foretold his power, and twelve wolves and five hundred hounds his death.

Space forbids a complete roll call of all the other animals famous in Roman tradition or history. We can list but a very few. There are, for instance, the noble horses and dogs in the *Aeneid*.

There are the deer slain by Aeneas. There are the mares upon the milk of which Camilla was brought up. There are the cattle of Geryon, stolen by Cacus. There are the wolf of Romulus and Remus, the geese that saved the Capitol by cackling at the approach of the enemy, and the dogs on the Capitol that failed to hear them; the horse of M'. Curtius, which perished with its master in the *Lacus Curtius*; the serpents which, borne against the Romans by the Faliscans in 356 b.c., nearly caused a great Roman defeat; the raven which helped Valerius in his combat with a great Gallic warrior and gave him his name *Corvinus*; the elephants that terrified the Romans so in the war with Pyrrhus and, later, in the one with Hannibal; the horse of Seius, which brought death to all who owned it; the serpent of Aesculapius that swam halfway across the Tiber; the boar that was the cause of the fall of Tarentum; the oxen to the horns of which Hannibal tied torches at night, so as to make them look like an army with firebrands; the hind of Sertorius, which he pretended Diana had given to him and through which she was said to speak with him; the panthers that Cicero sought in vain for his friend Caelius; the elephants that bore lamps in Caesar's Gallic triumph; the carrier pigeons that D. Brutus used at Mutina, and the messenger swallows used by Caecina of Volaterrae; the terrible serpents that Cato's men encountered in Africa; the asps that were sold in Rome for purposes of secret poisoning; Cleopatra's asp; Vergil's gnat and serpent in the *Culex*, and *Hylax*, the dog, in the eighth *Eclogue*; Horace's wolf, in the *Integer Vitae* ode; the wild boar that charged Augustus; the frogs that he bade be silent and that never croaked again; the flamingoes, peacocks, woodcock, guinea-hens, and pheasants that Caligula required to be sacrificed to his divinity; the golden pheasant brought to Rome under Claudius and called a *phoenix*; the snake that frightened away assassins from the bed of Claudius; the expensive and exotic animals given away as presents or prizes by Nero and later emperors; the disputed beast of burden that established for Galba a reputation for wisdom; the flies that Domitian used to stab for amusement; the wild beasts which refused to devour the Boian Marruccus, condemned for sedition against

Vitellius; the lion that Caracalla slew, as a second Hercules; the three boars which Pliny the Younger caught when he hunted with notebooks; the live oxen, the bodies of which Macrinus used as a tomb for two criminals; and the lion that spared Diadumenianus but killed his nurse.

In short, if one liked, he might write a whole zoological history of Rome; and so frequent are the references to animals in Latin literature that such an account would touch practically every event of importance in Roman history.

## NAVIGATION ON THE TIBER

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By J. E. EUBANKS  
Junior College of Augusta  
Augusta, Georgia

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The visitor to Rome for the first time is likely to feel a sense of disappointment when first he sees the Tiber. Especially is this true if he comes to Italy in the summer, which is the dry season here, when streams shrink until they are little more than a suggestion of what they become in the season of winter's rains or spring's melting snows. In view of the Tiber's widespread fame, which is greater, perhaps, than that of any other river on earth, unless it be the sacred Jordan, he is likely to associate size with importance, at least subconsciously, and feel quite disillusioned when he discovers its real proportions. One who is acquainted with such rivers as the Mississippi, "The Father of Waters," or the majestic Hudson may be inclined to refer to it as "a dirty little crick"; and he would not be far from the truth, when size alone is considered. It is difficult to see, at first thought, how so small a stream could have had a great deal to do with the selection of the site of Rome or the growth of the city.

Yet, while the Tiber is small, it is one of the larger rivers of Italy, a land abounding in streams, but with few of large size, on account of its shape. The Tiber does not compare with the large rivers in the north of the peninsula, but there is none larger south of it, and none of greater importance commercially, despite its small size. There is abundance of evidence that it did have a very great deal to do with the location and importance of Rome.

Originating in the Apennines about two hundred and thirty miles, as the stream flows, from the sea, it winds among the mountains and finally emerges from the Sabines about twenty-five miles from the Mediterranean. Its course is in a generally south-

western direction. From where it leaves the mountains it wanders meanderingly over a constantly widening alluvial plain through the Campagna until it loses itself through its silt-choked mouth in the sea about fifteen miles below Rome. In spite of its length, it does not have sufficient tributaries to make it an impressive stream; and as it flows past and through the city of Rome, after receiving its last large tributary, the Anio, just above the city, it is confined, at a depth of three to four feet, between walls that are about one hundred meters apart, on the average. From Rome to the sea a navigable channel with a minimum depth of four feet is maintained only by constant dredging.

In summer the stream loses its famous yellow color and takes on a sickly olive-green cast, which it derives from the volcanic soil that its waters traverse. There is so little rain at its source at this season of the year that not enough mud is washed from the slopes of the mountains to give the water the yellow color by which it is best known. A visitor to Rome for the past thirty years said that he saw the Tiber yellow in summer for the first time this year (1929). This phenomenon was due to the unusual amount of rainfall back in the mountains.

But while small in summer, the winter's rains and the spring's melting snows often swell the stream until it is a raging torrent. The Tiber is a stream of great seasonal fluctuation, due to these causes, and the annual floods often reach serious proportions. In ancient times the lower parts of Rome were frequently flooded. The lover of Horace will recall his second *Ode* of Book 1, where he says:

*Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis  
litore Etrusco violenter undis  
ire deiectum monumenta regis  
templaque Vestae;  
Iliae dum se nimium querenti  
iactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra  
labitur ripa Iove non probante u-  
xorius amnis.*

All during the Middle Ages there were disastrous floods at fairly regular intervals. In 1590 there was one of the worst recorded

floods, when there were one thousand five hundred drownings in the city and its suburbs. Other floods are recorded in 1495, 1530, 1557, and 1598. The worst flood was sixty feet above the sea, and twenty feet above the normal flood level.

It is easy to imagine what damage was done not only to life and property along its course but to the river bed itself in times of such great floods. Levees were broken, docks were swept away, quays were undermined, and channels subject to constant change and choking with silt. At the present time the Tiber is confined, as it flows through the city of Rome, between high stone walls that are thought sufficient to protect the city in all events; but there has not been, since the completion of these walls, a flood as great as some of the recorded floods to test them. Should it overflow these walls or make a serious breach in them, there will probably be a greater disaster than any that has ever gone before, for much of the crowded quarter of the modern city is built on ground that formerly was regularly inundated.

In ancient and mediaeval times, when dredging was much more difficult than it is with modern machinery, the constant difficulty of maintaining a navigable channel was a very serious problem. Strabo refers to Ostia as a city without a port, on account of the choking of the river mouth. The delta has advanced about three miles since Republican times; and that it has advanced no more is probably due to the fact that the sea bottom slopes rather steeply off the mouth of the Tiber, and to the long-shore currents that sweep past the delta. Many projects to overcome this drawback to navigation have been considered from time to time, but with the exception of dredging and the construction of artificial harbors near the mouth of the river all have proved too expensive and were abandoned even before undertaken. Among these projects was one that Julius Caesar entertained, of digging an entirely new channel for the Tiber as it passes Rome and causing it to flow by the foot of the Janiculum Hill. How much he was influenced by considerations of navigation and flood control and how much by a desire to increase the habitable area on the left bank of the river, we do not know; but it is likely that the former were not the least of these considerations, since the Tiber was

already spanned by several substantial bridges at this time and offered no serious obstruction to communication between its two banks. Another plan conceived was to construct a ship channel and drainage canal all the way to the sea through another part of the Campagna. Certain of the popes later had a survey made of the upper river to determine the feasibility of constructing a barge canal paralleling the course of the river, or of so improving the channel of the stream itself that it would serve the same purpose. This plan, too, was abandoned because the survey showed both that it would be too costly to construct for the amount of traffic that could be expected to develop and that it would be virtually impossible to maintain except at prohibitive expense.

All these factors have been considerable hindrances to the use of the Tiber as a navigable stream. Ostia, which now lies in ruins only less impressive than those of Pompeii itself, owes its sad state not so much to the general ruin that descended upon Italy with the coming of the barbarians as to the work of the Tiber. That it showed no more vitality was almost entirely due to the shifting of the stream, which was the cause of its building in the first place; for, while it would have been possible to repair the comparatively small damage done by the invader, it was not feasible to restore the course of the river.

Moreover the Romans were not by nature a people inclined to seafaring. The citizen soldier of Rome preferred to till his paternal acres and leave such trading as he found to be to his own interest in the hands of sailors from other lands. Greek, Etruscan, Phoenician, and even Carthaginian traders found a lucrative market in the land of the Romans; but for quite a long period the Roman himself felt it beneath his dignity to engage in mere trade. Until the time of the First Punic War there was considerable opposition to it. The democratic assembly forbade a Roman senator to own vessels of seagoing capacity. Whether this action was to safeguard the dignity of the state or prevent graft from senators' receiving rich contracts with the government is not clear, though it was probably from mixed motives. Also, the Roman seemed to shrink from the sea. There were exceptions, of course,

but there seems to have been a distaste for things nautical in the very blood of the Romans. Their literature is full of references to the perils of the sea :

*Otium divos rogat in patenti  
prensus Aegaco, simul atra nubes  
condidit lunam neque certa fulgent  
sidera nautis* [Horace, *Odes* II, 16].

The Mediterranean was closed to shipping in ancient times from November to March, just at the time when the Tiber would have been most navigable; and even in the best seasons and with experienced sailors ships were often at the mercy of the winds. The lower extremity of Spain was said to have been accidentally discovered by a ship blown there in a storm when the destination of the ship was the other end of the Mediterranean! A very lively account of the dangers of the sea in those times is given in *Acts* xxvii and xxviii — the account of St. Paul's voyage to Rome. It is not remarkable that under these conditions, when there was no love of the sea in the Roman's heart, when men of other races were eager to grasp the opportunities of trade, and when the Roman felt that he was the chosen tool of destiny for a far more important purpose, he should have neglected the seafaring life and left the commerce of the empire, so far as the actual shipping was concerned, largely in the hands of men of other races.

In view of these difficulties and the inborn aversion of the Roman to commerce, it is, at first thought, questionable whether the navigability of the Tiber had a great deal to do with the selection of the site and with the growth of Rome, or whether there might be more than mere romance in the account of the fortuitous selection of the site where Romulus and Remus were mothered by the she-wolf. To be sure, the hills of the Eternal City afforded an easily fortified stronghold, but farther inland there were better hills still, and hills farther removed from the miasmas that sometimes were wafted up from the lower Campagna. There must have been another reason. The hard-headed Roman was nothing if not practical. He had far too much common sense to be unaware of the advantages of trade and shipping, even if he did not

care to engage in them himself. Early contacts with the Etruscans across the Tiber had taught him that some things were better bought than produced at home, and that some articles of a quality that cannot be produced at home at all can easily be procured by the simple process of exchange. So, when the Gauls had sacked Rome and the Romans were seriously debating the advisability of rebuilding their city at Veii, we find Livy putting into the mouth of Camillus a speech urging the Romans not to do so and reminding them not only of the sacred associations of the site of Rome but also of the advantages of a site to which goods could be floated down from the interior and brought up from the sea. We find other writers discoursing on the same theme and praising a site that could be reached from the sea, but far enough from the sea to be safe from sea rovers, close to the mountains, but not in the mountains, one that could be reached by water from the interior and from the sea, in spite of the difficulties. Others speak of the advantages the Capitol City enjoyed in having the facility of the seaport close at hand without being subjected to moral contamination such as a seaport usually suffers from foreign sailors. It might be worth mentioning in this connection that Horace refers specifically to that evil in the ode in which he laments the degenerate morals of the Rome of his day (III, 6).

Furthermore, the scarcity of good harbors elsewhere in Italy within reach of Rome gave to the Tiber an importance that it otherwise would not have had. Shallow and shifting as it was, it was large enough to accommodate most of the vessels of ancient times and to give shelter to a great number of them behind its tree-covered banks. It was better than anything else for a great many miles.

So, whatever its limitations, we find the Tiber an important highway of commerce from the earliest times. If there were any Roman Huck Finns and Tom Sawyers, as there undoubtedly were, we may imagine them sitting along the banks of their river, watching the strange ships come and go and resolving to be shipmasters and sea rovers when once they grew up. If any Ostian Crusoe existed, he could find many things to stimulate his imag-

ination and whet his desire for the seaman's lot around the busy wharves at Ostia and in the tales that the sailors told of their adventures in foreign lands. There were men from many strange lands across the sea, coming in ships of strange form and bringing cargoes of riches from the far corners of the empire. In their strange garb, and with their strange ways, they must have been the heroes of many a boyish heart as he heard repeated the stories of their travels in lands far away.

Of its total length the Tiber is and was in ancient times navigable for one kind of vessel or another for 104 miles. However, owing to the swift current of the stream, the traffic was never very heavy above Rome, as compared with that below the city. Still, the travel above the city was not inconsiderable, either. A swift journey by boat downstream was often preferred to the slower and more uncomfortable trip overland, in spite of paved roads. Before the timber was nearly all stripped from the mountains the river was very likely a convenient way of either rafting or shipping supplies of lumber and firewood down from the interior to Rome. Before, and even after, the development of good roads the Tiber was also the easiest and most convenient way to transport other goods from the interior, as it was navigable for barges and small boats to the junction of the Nera. Pliny the Younger says boats descended the Tiber from Tiberinum, near which his villa was situated, "but only in winter and spring. In summer the river shrinks and presents nothing but a dry channel where once was an immense river." He also says that dams were used on the headwaters of the stream to impound the water for times of drought, so as to make the river navigable. Ruins have been found of structures which were evidently these dams. If so much trouble and expense were undergone to maintain the navigability of the stream after roads were built into the mountains, it is easy to imagine how much more important the river was in the days before these roads were constructed. It would have been almost impossible to bring heavy goods from the interior in any other way.

No account of navigation on the Tiber above Rome would be complete without mention of the use to which its tributary, the

Anio, was put in transporting building stone to the site of the city. For centuries the travertine quarries on the Anio near Tivoli have been Rome's chief source of this excellent building material. Millions and millions of tons of this material have gone into the construction of Rome's buildings; and until the building of rail-ways in comparatively recent times nearly all of it was brought down on barges by the Anio to the Tiber, and thence to Rome, just below the juncture of the two streams. When we survey the masses of travertine that are visible today and think of the stupendous amounts of it that are under the level of the modern city, buried in the ruins of the Rome of the long ago, we can realize that, if the transportation of this single item were all that existed on the upper river, an account of this alone would make an interesting story if the details were known. The huge numbers of slaves employed in the quarries, the straining at lever and tackle in loading the great blocks, the poling of the barges down-stream between the Anio's verdant banks, the cries and songs of the boatmen, the immense labors in getting the massive stone up the banks of the Tiber at Rome, the groaning carts as it was transported over the rough pavement of the ancient city, the long-horned oxen towing the empty barges back up the stream to the quarries — all these would make interesting material for the romancer who could reconstruct a vivid account of them.

But it is when we come to the lower river that the real story of navigation on the Tiber centers. There we find not only barges and small boats but the great vessels that dared to brave the open sea, slowly ascending the winding stream to the docks and quays of the great city, bringing their burdens from all quarters of the Mediterranean, from the Indies, and even from the coasts of the western ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Tow-paths on either side of the stream were well trod by feet of the white buffaloes, slowly tugging at ropes drawing heavily laden vessels up the now sluggish stream. Lighter vessels and trim ships of war propelled by oars came splashing past the slower and heavier cargo ships. When favorable winds blew inland, as they nearly always did in the late afternoon, we might have seen the sailors aboard the vessels spreading sails to aid the toiling oxen or the

straining oarsmen. Shouts and cries filled the air as a seaward bound vessel suddenly appeared round the bend, bearing down upon one slowly ascending. And sailors' oaths in many a tongue must have been exchanged as ship grazed by ship at a hair's breadth, while each crew cursed the other by Castor and Pollux and all the other deities that favor sailors.

Grain vessels halted at the docks near the great *horrea* by the foot of the Aventine. There their cargoes from Sicily, Sardinia, North Africa, and Egypt were brought ashore and stored in the great warehouses, whence they were issued to the indolent population of Rome. The great jars in which the grain had been kept safe from the dampness of the sea were often broken by being jostled together in rough weather and by handling at the docks, and their broken pieces became so numerous that a special dumping ground near by had to be set aside for them. In the course of time these broken jars filled a space about half a mile in circumference and to a height of one hundred feet — the present Monte Testaccio. So large is the mound of these potsherds that it is dignified by the name of *Mons*, as distinguished from *Collis*, and in its sides at the present time have been dug huge cellars for the storage of wine and for other purposes. To think upon the countless myriads of broken jars that must have gone into this heap and to realize that they represent only the breakage of grain- and wine-jars from ships bringing these stores to Rome will in itself give one a fairly vivid idea of the enormous extent to which the Tiber was used for the transportation of food. So important to the life of the city did this become that Alaric was able in A.D. 409 to force the Senate to accept his terms by capturing Ostia and thus cutting off Rome from her supply of grain. The same thing was repeated in 537, when Vitiges employed the same means of bringing the city to terms.

While grain and wine were probably the chief commodities brought up the Tiber, they were by no means all. When Roman taste was no longer satisfied with tufa, brick, and travertine in the building of palaces and temples, marble in variety and quantity such as have never been known elsewhere were brought from every land for the embellishment of the imperial city. By

the Aventine, on the southern edge of the city, a long quay known as the *Marmoratum* was the landing place for these precious cargoes from foreign quarries. There was a second wharf, farther up the river and more convenient to the northern part of the city, used for the same purpose. To these quays came ships from Tunis and Algeria, bearing alabaster, onyx, and giallo antico; from Egypt, with alabaster, porphyry, red granite, and speckled slate; from France, with black and white marble; from Greece, with the lovely Parian and cipollino, verde antico, and rosso antico; from Nubia, with basalt and lapis Aethiopicus; from Spain, with broccatello; from Turkey, with *marmor Phrygium* and pavonazzetto; and from any and every other source where rare and beautiful stone could be found. The number of the countless shiploads of this valuable stone that was brought up to Rome by the Tiber would doubtless be an astounding figure.

So far we have mentioned only two or three of the principal items of the commerce carried on by the way of the Tiber. This is not to say that traffic in other things was unimportant. The miscellaneous cargoes of other things that were brought to satisfy the needs of the mistress among cities must have been quite as numerous as those of the principal items mentioned. Juvenal says that so great was commerce that the sea was more peopled than the land. The rich rewards of trade enticed many a Roman to finance the expeditions of freedmen in search of gain. Trimalchio, the rich and vulgar freedman of whom Petronius gives so amusing an account, boasts that he made ten million sesterces from one voyage of a ship laden with wine, pork, beans (*sic!*), perfumes, and slaves. An inscription to a Phrygian merchant records that he made seventy-two voyages round the Peloponnesus to Italy. The portico surrounding the public square at Ostia has stalls that were set aside for the rope dealers, leather dealers, timber dealers, importers of oil, and sailors' guilds from Sardinia, Narbo, Turritanum, Karolatanum, Carthage(!), and other places. Many tesserae, or coins of private traders, have been brought up from the sands of the Tiber at Rome and at Ostia. Imported objects found in tombs, such as Grecian pottery, Etruscan bronzes, precious stones from all quarters of the empire, etc.,

all suggest the enormous proportions of the trade at all periods of the city's history, but especially during the *Pax Romana*, when trade went on without let or hindrance, and under the active encouragement of the emperors.

Having said enough, perhaps, to give an impression of the extent to which the Tiber was used for transportation, we shall now refer to the vessels themselves that were employed in this traffic. For this purpose we shall confine ourselves to the period of about Augustus' time. At this period a freighter was a vessel of two or three hundred tons. For a more concrete idea we shall say that one would measure about 185 feet long and 45 feet wide. A still more concrete idea may be gained from the fact that the vessel on which St. Paul was brought to Puteoli on his way to Rome carried two hundred and seventy-six passengers, besides a cargo of grain. One vessel is mentioned that carried six hundred passengers. These vessels, as we all know, were propelled by a combination of sails and oars. Vessels like the largest of these could not come up to Rome, nor could they get over the bar to Ostia until a part of their cargoes had been lightered in by other and smaller vessels. One of the mosaics at Ostia gives a very good representation of this procedure. Another suggests the larger vessel being met by a pilot boat and taking on a pilot for the dangerous entrance of the harbor. War vessels, of course, being lighter and more easily maneuvered, had no difficulty in ascending the Tiber to the naval docks opposite the Campus Martius.

Cargo vessels traveled rather slowly in those days. From Alexandria to Puteoli was fifty days; and from other places in proportion to distance, of course. Yet sea travel was popular because it was reasonably comfortable in good weather; and transportation was cheap, in spite of the slowness of the ships. In the third century A.D. wheat could be brought from Alexandria to Rome for about two cents a bushel, which is about what it costs in modern times.

As an aid to navigation by the Tiber, the ship on which the great obelisk in St. Peter's Piazza was brought to Rome was sunk

at the entrance to the harbor at Ostia, and upon it the foundation of a great lighthouse was constructed:

Claudius formed the harbor at Ostia, by carrying out circular piers on the right and on the left, with a mole protecting, in deep water, the entrance to the port. To secure the foundation of this mole he sunk the vessel in which the great obelisk was brought from Egypt, and built upon it piles of a very lofty tower, in imitation of the Pharos at Alexandria, on which lights were burnt to direct mariners in the night. [Suetonius, *Claudius* xx]

The harbor at Ostia was always a difficult problem. In fact, for a time, it lost a great part of its commerce to Puteoli, though the latter was one hundred and fifty miles away, because of the better harbor there and because vessels could secure a return cargo there, which they could not often do at Rome. This did not always remain true, however, and Ostia later recovered its importance.

Plutarch (*Julius Caesar* LVIII) says that Caesar planned an artificial harbor at Ostia. Claudius, finding it hopeless to cleanse the original port of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber, constructed an entirely new harbor two miles north of the old one, opening on the sea and protected by two moles which had an insulated breakwater between them, supporting a lighthouse. This is the mole and lighthouse already referred to in a preceding paragraph. This harbor is described by Juvenal (xii, 75-79):

*Tandem intrat positas inclusa per aquora moles,  
Tyrrhenamque Pharon, porrectaque bracchia rursum  
quae pelago occurrunt medio, longeque relinquunt  
Italiam. Non sic igitur mirabere portus  
quos natura dedit;*

and by Valerius Flaccus (vii, 83-86):

*Non ita Tyrrhenus stupet Ioniisque magister  
qui portus, Tiberine, tuos, claramque serena  
arce Pharon princeps linquens, nusquam Ostia, nusquam  
Ausoniam videt.*

This harbor choked up, and a new one was begun by Trajan in A.D. 103. This new harbor was united on the west with the port of Claudius and with the Tiber by a canal, which, since the

increasing filling of the old bed of the river, has become the Tiber itself and is now the only navigable branch. This harbor was surrounded by warehouses and became known as the *Portus Ostiensis*, *Portus Urbis*, or, more simply, *Portus*. This was the port seized by Alaric in 409 and by Vitiges in 537.

In the tenth century the port of Trajan was in ruins and was connected with the sea and with the Tiber by mere ditches. This situation drove shipping to the mediaeval Ostia, where a port had been built by Gregory IV in the preceding century. But in 1612 the canal of Trajan was cleaned out and connected with Fiumincio, the modern harbor and port near the mouth of the river, and has ever since been the only way by which vessels can ascend the Tiber, the other branch being choked with sand near its mouth.

What is the situation at the present day? The answer is that transportation by the Tiber has suffered the same fate as river transportation in all other cases, except under the most favorable circumstances. The modern harbor of Fiumincio is too shallow for any but the very smallest seagoing vessels. Civitavecchia has taken the place of ancient Ostia. In fact, all the seaports on the west coast have a share in this decay, owing to the facility and cheapness of rail transportation from them to Rome. Transportation up the Tiber has almost been driven out of existence by the competition of the railroads. A solitary tug once a week is sufficient to tow all the vessels that come down from above Rome in that time at the busiest season, and but few more are needed below. Coal and a few other heavy goods are still brought up from Fiumincio, but the great docks and quays of former times have disappeared. Almost untroubled by oar or propeller, and unclouded by sail, the waters of the Tiber still sweep on by Rome and lose themselves in the sea.

## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.)

### THE NUMBER "FIFTY"

The purpose of this note is to call attention to the frequency of the number "fifty" in the Greek tradition and to suggest as an explanation that "fifty" was considered a conventional round number, on a par with "three," "five," "seven," "nine," "ten," "twelve," "twenty," "hundred," "thousand," and "ten thousand." The fact that "fifty" is sometimes used where other forms of the tradition give some other of the above conventional numbers, such as "three," "nine," or "hundred," seems to add force to this explanation.

To begin with Homer, in the *Odyssey* "fifty" is used eight times, "hundred" not at all; ἑκατόμβη is not counted, as the force of either part of the compound was no longer felt. In the *Iliad*, "hundred" is used seven times (twice with a wordplay on ἑκαστος), while "fifty" is used fourteen times. However, there are eight compounds of "hundred" to one of "fifty." This brings the total number of uses of "hundred" exactly up to that of "fifty," viz. to fifteen. The following is the list of the "fifties":

#### *Iliad*

- II, 509, ships of the Boeotians
- II, 556, ships of the Athenians
- II, 685, ships of Achilles
- II, 719, rowers in each ship of Philoctetes
- IV, 393, ambuscade against Tydeus
- V, 786, Stentor shouts as loud as fifty
- VI, 244, chambers of the sons of Priam
- VIII, 563, Trojans about each fire
- XI, 678, herds of cattle taken by Nestor

xi, 748, chariots captured by Nestor  
 xvi, 168, ships of Achilles  
 xvi, 170, rowers in each ship  
 xxiii, 147, rams promised by Peleus  
 xxiv, 495, sons of Priam  
 ix, 579 (compound), fifty-acre domain offered to Meleager

*Odyssey*

vii, 103, slavewomen of Alcinous  
 xii, 130, cattle in each herd of Helius  
 viii, 35 and 40 ("two and fifty"), crew of the ship of the Phaeacians, i. e. fifty rowers, plus a steersman and a captain  
 xiv, 15, swine in each sty  
 xvi, 247, "two and fifty" suitors from Dulichium, i. e. two to match Odysseus and Telemachus, plus a round fifty  
 xx, 49, troops of men not to be feared by Odysseus  
 xxii, 421, servants in the house of Odysseus  
 xxiv, 342, vines promised by Odysseus

This list of "fifties" in Homer may be supplemented by a fragment of the *Nauplia* of Sophocles (Nauck 399), in which Palamedes "first made 'ten' out of 'one,' and out of the 'ten' again he devised 'fifties.'" Then follows something about "thousand"; but, the text being corrupt, it is impossible to determine whether "thousand" is a higher unit or whether there were a thousand "fifties." At any rate, "hundred" is conspicuous by its absence.

For the times after Homer, it is impracticable to give complete statistics, but the following list of well-known "fifties" will suffice: The children of Nereus, Thespius, Danaus, and Aegyptus; the heads of Briareus, Cottus, and Gyes (these not being necessarily a corollary of their hundred arms), Cerberus (Hesiod), the Lernean Hydra (Vergil), and the dithyrambic chorus; the maximum number of baskets of grain that dealers were allowed to purchase, according to Lysias xxii; and lastly, in the New Testament at the miracle of the feeding of the multitude, the latter are seated by "fifties."

In addition, we may get some idea of the relative importance of "fifty" and "hundred," its natural rival, by counting the com-

pounds given by Liddell and Scott. Here we find that "hundred" has thirty-two independent compounds, while "fifty" has twenty-three, showing that "fifty" is quite comparable to "hundred" in importance as a numerical unit.

ERNEST RIEDEL

TULANE UNIVERSITY  
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

#### TRANSLATION OF MATTHEW VI, 27

This verse is rendered in the King James Version: "Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature?" The authors of the Revised Version evidently felt that the crucial word (*ἡλικίαν*) should not refer to size of body but to length of life; hence they translate it "add one cubit unto the measure of his life."

There is a perfect parallel in a scholium to *Odyssey* xi, 588. The *Odyssey*, in the passage to which the scholium refers, tells the story of Tantalus and how he was tortured by the water that vanished from around his feet and by the trees whose fruit hung over his head; yet this fruit would elude his grasp and the wind would hide it in the clouds when he tried to reach it.

The scholiast to this passage says: "It is necessary to suppose that the trunks of the trees were taller than the stature (*ἡλικία*) of Tantalus so that the branches could hang over his head." Here, of course, *ἡλικία* can refer to size only and has nothing to do with years or age.

This scholium must have originated near the time when Jesus spoke these words, also in no remote region; hence it gives a striking proof of the uncanny ability with which the authors of the King James Version caught the meaning of the original. The Revised Version is in this verse absolutely nonsense, since people "by being anxious" do add many cubits unto the measure of life.

JOHN A. SCOTT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

## Book Reviews

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L.-A. CONSTANS, *Guide Illustré des Campagnes de César en Gaule* (Association Guillaume Budé): Paris, "Les Belles Lettres" (1929). Pp. 132. Imported by G. E. Stechert at \$1.00.

The Preface tells us that this "illustrated guide to Caesar's Campaigns in Gaul" is offered as a help to studying on the spot the historical, topographical, and strategical problems which the terrain, when compared with the text of the *Commentaries*, presents to the student. Nothing of the sort had ever been attempted before in convenient form for carrying around, so that there was a real need to be filled. Moreover, this book, written by a well-known editor and translator of Caesar, is necessarily of interest to all students of the campaigns, whether or not they visit the sites.

M. Constans has given us a brief summary of Caesar's military activities in Gaul, including the siege of Massilia. Throughout he gives those identifications of places which seem to him most probable. For important sites he gives a translation of Caesar's text, almost always a map or plan, and usually a reason for his choice of the site. At these points references are given to the great works of Jullian and Holmes, sometimes to other discussions. There are accounts of the results of excavations at Bibracte and Alesia, and of things to be seen at Vienne, Orange, Arles, Saint-Rémy, and Fréjus, where colonies were sent by Caesar. Attention is directed to important museums. Every student of Caesar will find something of value in the book. It is reported that it will be translated into English.

But American teachers must be warned not to expect too much. M. Constans doubtless knew the needs of French visitors to the sites, and he may be supposed to have adapted the book to them. It is in no sense a travelers' guide: we are not told how to get to

any battlefield, there is no geographical grouping of interesting places to help in planning a trip, there are no suggestions for finding one's way about a battlefield or selecting the best points from which to view it. A map of modern France with the Caesar sites clearly marked would have been more helpful to Americans than the very ordinary map of ancient Gaul which is given.

Furthermore, it is not likely that Americans will visit the sites unless they already know something about what Caesar did and can read his Latin. Those who do visit them will not need the very elementary information given in the fifteen pages of Introduction, or the translations of Caesar's text, which occupy about twenty-three pages. Much that they will need is either entirely crowded out by the useless or so compressed as to be hopelessly inadequate. References to Holmes and Jullian by no means fill the gaps, since their volumes are too bulky to carry on such a trip; and the expressed purpose of the author was to obviate the need of carrying them.

Most teachers will wish chiefly to see with their own eyes the places mapped, pictured, and described in whatever school editions they happen to use. Of course, some places are settled beyond question; but if M. Constans had tried to make his list of sites as different as possible from the sites accepted by American editors he could hardly have succeeded better. If a teacher who knew only an American edition should visit the battlefields with no other guide than this book, his ideas would be muddled as often as clarified.

Those teachers who have given some study to rival theories will wish to form judgments of their own by examining the rival locations. For this purpose all the prominent identifications should be mapped or described. But, except for the camp on the Aisne, only one location for each battle is mapped; and the others, if mentioned at all, are insufficiently described. Still worse, attention is never directed to the only things that need to be studied on the spot — those physical features which determine the fitness or unfitness of a site and about which controversy has centered. At several points the author introduces new identifications of his

own. These interest the specialist, but only to tantalize him; for neither argument nor reference to fuller treatment elsewhere is given.

A particularly glaring illustration of most of the defects already noted is the treatment of the Arioivistus battle. Modern American editions accept Stoffel's location, reproduce his plan, and base their notes on it. That location is not even mentioned in this book. Winkler's is chosen instead, and no reason is given for the choice. There is a map of the locality, but no plan of the battle. The sites of Caesar's two camps are named, but we are not told the location of Arioivistus' camp or of the battle. The author directs attention to no natural feature which might explain Caesar's failure to stop Arioivistus from marching past him, although this is one of Stoffel's strong points. He does not tell us that Winkler found the remains of a camp which he claimed was Caesar's, although that is the most important factor in the question of identification. He refers to Winkler's own discussion, which few Americans will have seen, and to Jullian and Holmes, neither of whom accepts Winkler's views. In short, the treatment of this battle helps neither in understanding the movements on the location chosen nor in studying the problem of identification.

A. T. WALKER

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

W. R. HALLIDAY, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch*, with a new Translation and a Commentary: Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. 233.

Along with the finished literary productions of Plutarch there have been preserved in the corpus of his writings several collections of random notes, intended probably for his own personal use as raw material later to be worked up into the final form of an essay or treatise. Among these collections belong the *Roman* and the *Greek Questions*. To the excellent edition of the former by H. J. Rose<sup>1</sup> comes as a worthy companion volume the publication of the *Greek Questions* by W. R. Halliday. The very nature of the work in the form it has come down to us precludes

<sup>1</sup> Oxford University Press (1924).

any literary interest or merit, but the subject matter is of such importance not only for classical scholars, but even more especially for the student of comparative religion and folk lore, that an edition with an accurate translation and a complete commentary has long been needed. The present work admirably meets this need.

The arrangement of the book is excellent. After a short Introduction, in which he affirms his belief in the authenticity of the *Questions* and discusses briefly the sources, among which he is inclined to assign an important place to the Aristotelian *Constitutions*, the editor has printed the Greek text based upon the edition of Wyttenbach, which, pending the publication of the new Teubner text, is doubtless the best to follow. The complete Greek text covers some twenty pages, and the bulk of the work consists of the translation and commentary. First a translation of the question and Plutarch's answer, or answers, is given and then follows the discussion by the editor. Practically all the questions deal with problems of constitutional history or unusual features of religious practice, many of them being devoted to the interpretation of strange words and phrases appearing in the various local Greek cults. Mr. Halliday was admirably fitted by his previous studies in Greek religion and folk lore for the task of interpreting this material, and his exhaustive Commentary is notable both for wide and thorough knowledge of the subject matter and for sound common sense. It is pleasing to note that he has not allowed himself to be carried away by the unsound speculations to which many folk lorists unfortunately seem to be prone.

It may be of interest to give some idea of the wide range of subjects covered by the Commentary. Extended discussions are given of such topics as blood guilt (pp. 126-29), transvestitism (pp. 216-19), mourning customs (pp. 120-23), sacrificial rites (pp. 124-26), clan festivals (pp. 183-85), boundary magic (pp. 201 f), oligarchic constitutions (pp. 39-41), sacred and magical stones (pp. 43 f, 78), werewolves (pp. 169-71), etc. Two questions, Nos. 9 and 12, have to do specifically with the Apollo cult

of Delphi, of which Plutarch was especially well qualified to speak; and in the notes we find detailed discussions of the Delphic priesthood, the festivals of Apollo, the proper seasons for consulting the oracle, and other phases of the Delphic religion. Reference to the notes is facilitated by a good general Index and two other indices, one on names of months and the other on names of festivals.

If it be the function of a review to point out errors and shortcomings in a book, it will be apparent that the present reviewer has failed in his task. But the work of Mr. Halliday has been so thorough and he has made available so much valuable material that we can only welcome it as a very substantial contribution to our knowledge of an important phase of Greek life and express our gratitude to the author for his services to scholarship.

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

C. G. LOWE

GEORGE HOWE AND G. A. HARRER, *A Handbook of Classical Mythology*: New York, F. S. Crofts and Company (1929).

Pp. vii+301. \$1.50.

The writers of this handbook are well known to readers and lovers of literature through their interesting compilations on the spirit of the Greek and Roman classics. To this service to the cause of scholarship they have added still another, which is certain to call forth the appreciation of numerous readers, including those who are in search of suitable standard works for ready reference in the field of mythology. The claim of the writers that they have treated a larger number of mythological figures than their rivals is probably borne out, but it is open to the objection that many of these figures are of minor significance and hardly merit special mention.

Another question naturally arises in the mind of the critic as to the best method of presenting mythological material. A fluent narrative style always appeals to the general reader, and appears at its best in a manual reviewed in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXIV (1929), 607-10.<sup>1</sup> But the method made familiar to us in dic-

<sup>1</sup> H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1928).

tionaries and like works of reference has the undeniable advantages of definiteness and conciseness.

The book as a whole is attractive to the eye and eminently readable, but the reviewer would single out for special notice the articles on Achilles, Aeneas, Apollo, Menelaus, Odysseus, Prometheus, Theseus, the Trojan War, and Zeus. Not the least valuable feature of this compendium is the references to literature and to art that are attached to these and other important mythological characters. Doubtless omissions will occur to many where the material is so abundant. Wordsworthians will miss a reference to the poet's beautiful rendition of the story of Laodamia and Protesilaus. Lovers of Vergil will be gratified to see that their favorite poet appears again and again in the treatment of many of the characters of the *Aeneid*.

The authors have done a scholarly piece of work, not original, for originality can hardly be expected in the rehandling of material already familiar to scholars and involving considerable repetition; and such errors as have eluded them, partly accentual, but mainly typographical, can readily be removed in a subsequent edition.

ALFRED W. MILDEN

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

FRED S. DUNHAM, *Second-Year Latin*: Philadelphia, John C. Winston Company (1929). Pp. xvi+619.

The objectives of this book are two-fold: first, "to put into the hands of the pupil definite functional and inductive studies that will serve to stimulate interest and encourage him in developing power to read and comprehend Latin as Latin"; and second, to afford the unresourceful teacher a definite plan of procedure through lesson-units consisting of a brief introduction in English of the Latin to be read, a portion of Latin averaging some fifteen lines in amount, full notes, questions on the content and background of the passage read, special word study, special grammar study, questions in Latin to be answered in Latin, and (for thirty-five lessons) two sentences to be translated into Latin.

You who are reading this paragraph are wondering perhaps what other activity could have been included in this list.

The reading material is divided into five parts, Part I consisting of the Labors of Hercules, and Parts II-V of selections from the seven books of the *Gallic War*. There are a short Introduction on Latin in its relation to English, a full and well-arranged grammatical Appendix, twenty-seven pages on prefixes, suffixes, and special word study, a Latin-English (but no English-Latin) Vocabulary, and a brief Index.

Conspicuous excellencies are seen in the substantial binding and quality of paper, clearness and variety of type, fullness of notes, interesting introductions in the form of résumés of the material to be read, and the general choice of selections. For the inexperienced teacher, this arrangement of material for each lesson-unit will be an undisputed blessing. You simply cannot go wrong. Whether experienced teachers will enjoy this kind of harness is another question. However one feels about that, the whole plan aims in the right direction; and the values which we consider valid in the teaching of Caesar, with the exception of the emphasis upon composition and syntax, are well stressed.

On the other hand, composition and syntax are relegated to minor positions. The writing of Latin, so valuable during the second year of Latin study for impressing points of syntax, and conceded so even by the *Report of the Classical Investigation* (pp. 222 f and 231), is confined to seventy-one short sentences, barely enough for two months' study. Considerable reference is made in the notes to constructions; but this consists largely in telling what the point of syntax is, with a reference to the Appendix. This minimizing the importance of composition and failure to make it an instrument for the understanding of syntax appears to the writer a definite evasion of the difficulty presented in the teaching of syntax and the writing of Latin. A host of Latin teachers believe that classes in Caesar may thoroughly enjoy their work in composition and that the writing of Latin, presented intelligently and in reasonable amount, may be made to function effectively in the comprehension and translation of a paragraph

of Latin. The writer regrets that this excellent book has swung so far to the left and has not offered teachers something new and vigorous in the attack upon a subject admittedly difficult to teach.

There appear to be about 144 lesson-units in the book, or work for about thirty weeks. With a superior class, it would appear necessary to supplement with material outside of Caesar. However, if one wishes to train his pupils to speak Latin and read Latin as Latin, minimizing the syntax and translation, he will find the material sufficient for the entire year, well arranged, interestingly introduced, and made possible of comprehension by the entire class.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

DORRANCE S. WHITE

H. W. HOUSEHOLD, *Hellas, the Forerunner*; Vol. I, "Athens in Her Glory," and Vol. II, "The Glory Fades": London, J. M. Dent and Sons (1927 and 1928). Pp. viii+211, and vi +181. 3s. 6d. per volume.

This work attempts an interpretation of Greek history from the Cretan to the Macedonian. As far as possible, the story is told in quotations, often extended, from Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon. There are fitted in also numerous quotations from English poets, especially from the classical themes of Browning. The second volume has maps of Greece and Asia Minor, Sicily, and Syracuse and a list of derivatives from the Greek. Both volumes have indices.

Such material as is not quoted from Greek writers is often drawn from general and inspirational books, all English, notably those of Gilbert Murray. The references to the brother ox, which "they could not . . . kill . . . without a ceremony, nor eat . . . except upon a special day with special rites" (I, 48; cf. pp. 9 f and 68), to the corn-spirit (II, 19), and to a resurrection and "a celebration of the hero's holy tomb" at the end of a tragedy (II, 18) are consistent with a familiar, romantic type of scholarship. Of specific works, Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of*

*Greece*,<sup>1</sup> e.g., is cited rather than the more recent books of Evans and Hall. Many statements are based on antiquated handbooks. The danger in depending on translations is again illustrated (II, 62), when Crawley makes Thucydides say of the plague, "The same man was never attacked twice — never at least fatally." (But it is *δοτε* with the *infinitive*.)

The author purposed to write an impartial, philosophical history and complains of such as are not. But he himself seems often to be writing a tract against present-day Russia, war-time Germany, and critics of the British Empire. The small compass of his book includes thirteen attacks on Russian communism (as if it had no possible latent good or honest motive), two contemptuous dismissals of Plato's communistic program, five *ex parte* statements against Germany (though the author can see with Aristophanes the danger of *Greek* war-hatreds), and seven statements in justification of Britain's imperial policy. The six references to America are kindly, if not always applicable to the present. Some of these allusions can be justified as historical parallels.

The work is intended for boys and girls, among others. Several considerations make it ill-adapted for them: the propaganda just described; a tinge of pessimism, as shown by the title of Volume II (though it contains the drama, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle) and by the wistful picture of outworn England with which the work ends; and numerous untrustworthy or debatable statements, as follows.

These are typical: that Hesiod lived in the ninth century contemporary with Homer (I, 2, 29, 36, 66); that the Homeric poems were the result of edited lays, probably under Pisistratus (I, 29, 69, 86); that it was the Dorian who bore the title, "Sacker of Cities" (I, 27); that Phaeacia was Corcyra (II, 40) and was poverty-stricken (I, 28; despite the later proverbial use of the name as a symbol of luxury); that the Hittite language is still indecipherable (I, 38); that in fifth-century Athens the seats of the theater were of stone (II, 17), there was a raised stage

<sup>1</sup> Charles H. and Harriet Boyd Hawes: New York, Harper & Bros. (1909).

(II, 18), and a cothurnus with sole six inches thick (II, 20); that actors as well as chorus were provided and trained at the expense of wealthy citizens (II, 17); that the chorus in the *Frogs* were costumed as such rather than as *mystae* (II, 31); that the catastrophe *never* takes place on the stage (II, 18; what of suicides there?); that the "Syracusans gave liberty to many enslaved Athenian soldiers who could recite them lines from Euripides' great plays" (I, 204); that Socrates did not drink (II, 40; but cf. the *Symposium* passage on p. 143); that the charge of corrupting the youth was sincere and the real occasion of Socrates' death, despite *Apology* 23CD; that "he spent his life in convincing the Athenians, not of sin, but of ignorance" (II, 145; rather of sins of ignorance); and that Plato misrepresented the Sophists (II, 3). There are several grammatical and typographical errors. The author warns us that consistency of spelling has not been attempted; but "Mycenae like Knossus" (I, 22) is objectionable, not to mention "Bosphorus" (*passim*). The preference for translations, as stated in the Preface, with only the exceptional pupil learning the original, will not be received enthusiastically by classicists.

In spite of inevitable disparagement above, the story is in general well told and has the freshness which comes from copious quotations from the sources and the author's very human point of view. Considered as written by a layman (necessarily a very well-read layman), the work deserves a generous reception.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

CLYDE MURLEY

CHARLES BURTON GULICK, *Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists*, with an English Translation, Vols. II and III (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928, 1929). Pp. viii + 533; viii + 510. Each \$2.50.

Professor Gulick's translation of the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus is a welcome addition to the Loeb Library. There has long been a need for a translation. Athenaeus is puzzling even to one who knows considerable Greek; for this reason and because of the encyclopaedic nature of his work he is rarely read.

Yet no author is richer in information about the life of Greece and Rome.

Books II to VII contained in these two volumes are not the most interesting part of Athenaeus, except perhaps to cooks. Yet there are many sections with a wider appeal; to mention only a few: Ptolemy's pageant, Vol. II, pp. 387-420; Hiero's big ship, Vol. II, pp. 435-47; Mithridates and Athens, Vol. II, pp. 461-73. The latter will be of some interest to anyone teaching the *Manilian Law*.

Translating Athenaeus is no easy task. It is not so much a question of the difficulty of the language, as it is of a thorough acquaintance with the *things* of Greek civilization, from fishhooks to sculpture. Needless to say that Professor Gulick has succeeded admirably, not only in the text but in the notes, which give exactly the right information and conceal a great erudition under the guise of simplicity. It is to be hoped that many teachers of ancient history will avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by this translation.

YALE UNIVERSITY

H. M. HUBBELL

GEORGE NORLIN, *Isocrates*, with an English Translation, Vols. I and II (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928 and 1929). Pp. li+411, and vii+541. \$2.50 each.

These are the first two volumes of President Norlin's three-volume translation of Isocrates. In Volume I the translator follows the traditional order of the speeches and presents the first six, of which the most important are the *Panegyricus*, and *To Philip*; in Volume II the traditional order is wisely set aside in the interest of community of subject matter, and we find *On the Peace*, *Areopagiticus*, *Against the Sophists*, *Antidosis*, and *Panathenaicus*. Volume I also contains a forty-page Introduction, with the usual bibliographical material and an unusually interesting and valuable discussion of Isocrates, his life, his style, his relation to the Sophists and to Socrates, his theory of education and of his own mission as promulgator of culture, and his hopes

for a pan-Hellenic union. It is but natural that such a review of the "Old Man Eloquent's" life and works should be sympathetic; that the writer should find, e. g., more worth in his political theories and in his attempts at rescuing Hellas from suicide than do the followers of Demosthenes, who, from his day to ours, have enjoyed damning Isocrates as academic. The rehabilitation of Isocrates has been attempted by others, but the reviewer knows of no more illuminating explanation of how it happened that Isocrates found himself groping rather helplessly between the two stools of politics and philosophy than the brief statement of Norlin on pp. xviii-xix.

To the reviewer the most interesting section of the Introduction is that in which President Norlin discusses the influence of Socrates upon the orator. Proof of this influence he finds in numerous striking characteristics common to both; in the conscious borrowing of many "Socratic" turns of expression from the defense of Socrates for use in his own *apologia*, the *Antidosis*; and in the "warm admiration" which Socrates exhibits for the young orator from whom great things might be expected at the close of Plato's *Phaedrus* and the intimate association between the two indicated thereby. It is perhaps unfortunate that this argument must rest in part on the shifting sands of "interpretation." There are some who are still inclined to question whether the Platonic *Apology* may safely be considered "Socratic," and of course there are others who see no admiration expressed by Socrates for the promising young orator in the passage in the *Phaedrus* but merely a sarcastic criticism by *Plato* of the mature Isocrates, from whom no "greater things" could be expected when the *Phaedrus* was composed. A full discussion of such controversial points for the delectation of specialists was naturally precluded by the need for brevity and the purpose of the Loeb Series, and President Norlin was wise in merely stating his views and indicating in a footnote that his opinion is not shared by all scholars.

Excellent as the Introduction is, the reviewer finds himself wishing that room could have been found for an additional brief

outline of the history of the period from Aegospotami to Chaeronea. In the maze presented by "the King's Peace," "the Second Athenian Confederacy," "the Social War," "the Peace of Philocrates," and the like, most readers need a stronger thread of continuity than that provided by the appropriate footnotes and the discussion of Isocrates and his attitude toward world affairs (pp. xxxii-xlii).

An idiomatic and literary translation of a great stylist may prove hard on the stylist. His peculiar excellence is sometimes forced to give way to the demands of another language and a different taste. The idiomatic and literary merits of Norlin's version are high, and yet no serious violence is done to the original. There are, to be sure, moments when one who reads with his eye on the Greek may shake his head over the abbreviation of a typical Isocratean period, over the transposition of clauses, or the loss of a particularly neat balance that the English cannot well preserve; but he will soon begin to see that the translator chose wisely. The result is in the main lucid and rhythmic English that will be appreciated by all except the youthful few whose failure to find therein interlinear assistance for the interpretation of a passage may render them insensible to its merits.

The translator is not unsuccessful in preserving at times the florid artificiality of a rhetorical passage. "He [Xerxes] sailed his troops across the mainland and marched his troops across the main" (*Panegyricus* 89) retains a touch of the rhythm and the assonance of the original.

Even the mocking irony of a Greek word does not escape. "The sentiment that the king cares tenderly for Hellas" preserves in delightful fashion the *κήδεται* of the original (*Panegyricus* 175).

On occasion the English seems dissatisfied with the unadorned Greek and adds embellishment: *ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον* (*Panegyricus* 15) becomes "our natural enemy," *τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας* (*ibid.* 82) becomes "the Asiatic hordes," and *τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῖν οὐσῶν* (*ibid.* 101) becomes "our loyal subjects." These additions will be appreciated by the

average reader to whom they carry a connotation and supply a commentary that the simpler Greek lacks.

It is doubtful whether the translation "they desire to seize for themselves" (*Panegyricus* 17) can fail to be ambiguous at first reading, and "such as it is" (*Antidosis* 11) certainly represents a degree of mock modesty in speaking of his speech that Isocrates does not display. Instances of this sort are, however, extremely rare and hardly justify mention.

The "average reader" would certainly have been helped by notes on terms like "public orators" (*Antidosis* 136), "counsel" (*ibid.* 144), and the jurors' oath (*ibid.* 21), and by a reference to Calhoun's *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation* (University of Texas, 1913) on *Panegyricus* 79. But where footnotes are so abundant it is ungracious to ask for more.

Misprints are rare. The cross reference to *The Peace* in note b on *Antidosis* 8 should read 123 instead of 128.

OBERLIN COLLEGE

J. O. LOFBERG

GEORGE E. MYLONAS, *Excavations at Olynthus*; Part I, The Neolithic Settlement: Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1929). Pp. xvii+108. 94 Figs. and 2 Plates (in color). \$7.50.

In 1928 Professor D. M. Robinson excavated a site on the east bank of the river Retsinikia in Chalcidice and unearthed a town belonging to the classical period, which he and his staff are persuaded is the ancient Olynthus. Not all scholars are ready to accept the identification. However, long investigations on the site revealed the existence of a neolithic settlement whose original name is beyond dispute, inasmuch as it is lost beyond recovery in the mists of antiquity. It lay upon a steep knoll, unfortified; and its inhabitants enjoyed apparently a peaceful life, leaving behind them no weapons of war and no certain indication of their having been seriously disturbed until some final catastrophe brought their story to an end. That the settlement lasted for generations and even centuries is made pretty clear by reason of the circumstance of its three strata of occupation.

Though the culture of the district appears to have made little material progress, it was of no mean order. The houses, while small, were well constructed of river pebbles laid in sun-dried clay, covered with roofs the nature of whose construction is uncertain. Agriculture flourished in a small way, as is shown by the remains of grain and figs found in the excavations. The most important single discovery was that of a potter's kiln in a fair state of preservation, possessing as many technical devices as the oven of historical Greek times. No skeletons or graves were found in the settlement.

This monograph by Dr. Mylonas furnishes a complete and eminently scientific account of the neolithic discoveries. The work is splendidly illustrated with numerous photographs and drawings adroitly arranged in relation to the text. The description of the various artifacts is admirably clear and concise. The site was found to be particularly fruitful in celts, some of which are remarkable for their size. There are a few figurines, of stone and of terra cotta, representing in the main the well-known goddess of fertility. In the usual miscellany of small objects one is surprised to find so few articles of personal adornment. The primitive Olynthians were seemingly a modest and retiring folk.

The section which treats of the pottery is extremely well done. Dr. Mylonas is particularly enthusiastic over the neolithic kiln. It is undoubtedly a discovery of unusual importance even if, as he frequently points out in the text, much of the pottery is poorly fired. The vessels are very uneven in technical properties, ranging from the crudest of specimens made from badly levigated clay to finely burnished and slipped ware of highly artistic design. They are all hand-built, the potter's wheel being still unknown in this district.

The author commits himself to but a very little in the way of theorizing; but even so, it must be confessed, he more than once exposes himself to attack. Ethnologists will hardly agree with him that, inasmuch as the culture of this site is homogeneous with that unearthed elsewhere in Macedonia and Thessaly, the region must have been inhabited by a single race. Such a conclu-

sion, to be valid, would require the additional support of evidence derived from the anatomical examination of skeletal remains.

Dr. Mylonas is worried, unnecessarily I think, regarding the technology of some of the ceramic wares. He points out, e.g., that, whereas some of the vases are black or dark grey throughout, others are black on the surface and bright red within the "biscuit." His inference is that the theory of "reduction"—i.e. firing the kiln with a minimum of oxygen and a plentiful supply of carbon—will not hold in the latter case, and he postulates the use of a "carboniferous pigment" applied to the vase before firing. But this is the very phenomenon we should expect to find if the process of baking began with an oxidizing fire but the drafts were closed before the kiln was allowed to cool. It must also be recalled that ordinary ligneous fuel will produce a temperature of about 900°C., at which point any carboniferous fluid substance with which I am acquainted would be consumed in a few moments.

It may be granted that not all the phenomena which are observed in ancient pottery are easy of explanation, but the freaks of even the modern kiln are most extraordinary.

The date of the Olynthic settlement is placed by Dr. Mylonas—though hardly, one feels, on sufficient grounds—earlier than the culture of the first city of Troy. He thinks, too, that its particular qualities link it with the cultures of Asia Minor rather than those of the Danubian region. This is probably a fair and reasonable hypothesis in our present state of knowledge, but the depths of earth in Macedonia have many a strange story yet to tell.

A. D. FRASER

ALFRED UNIVERSITY

## Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Marie B. Denneen, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, N. C. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

### A Vergil Contract

This contract on the third book of Vergil's *Aeneid* is made out on the basis of the theory that individuals differ in capacity. Accordingly Contract A is the minimum that must be done by the pupil to earn the grade D. Four items of either Contracts B or C must be completed for a grade of C, seven items for a B grade, and ten for a grade of A.

#### Book III, Vergil Contract

Time: December 16-January 16.

Extra equipment: maps of ancient world, scrapbook for pictures of gods, illustrations, poems, etc.

##### Contract A (*cum laude*):

1. Translation of Book III. (Students are responsible for all translation done in class, whether prepared or not.)
2. Volume I of Bryant's translation of the *Odyssey*. (The *Odyssey* is the story which Vergil used as a model in writing Book III.)
3. Reports on books of the *Odyssey* to be given in class according to assignment.
4. Scansion of the lines assigned in class.
5. Trace on map wanderings of Aeneas.

##### Contract B (*magna cum laude*):

1. Trace on map the wanderings of Ulysses and compare them with the wanderings of Aeneas, as to time spent, places visited, events encountered, etc.
2. Select an appealing event from Book III and attempt a translation in original verse. (Remember that the lines do not have to rhyme.)
3. Memorize the famous lines mentioned in class.

4. Read the story of the Argonauts in Gayley's *Classic Myths*.<sup>1</sup> Make a brief report in the form of a booklet with illustrations. (Vergil used this story also as a model for Book III.)

5. Make a brief report on the ideas, events, matters of style, etc., which Vergil borrowed from the tale of the Argonauts or from the *Odyssey* and incorporated in Book III of the *Aeneid*.

6. Make an original drawing of some of the following, which the Trojans encountered in their travels: 1, Harpies; 2, Polyphemus; 3, Scylla; 4, Charybdis; 5, Cyclops; and 6, Enceladus.

Contract C (*summa cum laude*):

1. Find in English literature — among such authors as Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, and Keats — passages showing Vergil's influence.

2. Make a notebook having as a title the names of one or more of the gods who took part in the story; e.g. Jupiter and Juno, Apollo and Diana, etc. Let the notebook contain artistic illustrations of gods, mythical stories about them, quotations from English literature about them, and Latin quotations from Vergil describing them, such as

*Iuppiter omnipotens, deum pater et hominum rex.*

3. Make a brief report on Delos and its famous temple.

4. Discuss the ambiguity of the oracles.

5. Contrast the athletic games held in Actium by the Trojans and those of modern times.

NEWPORT NEWS, VA.

WILLIE SHELTON

#### Composition Projects

Knowing that many teachers spend a small portion of the third-year Latin course in English to Latin composition, I thought the work could be made more interesting if the students were allowed to select their own composition material instead of having it served to them in regular dinner-course style, such as sentence 1, 2, 3, etc. With this in mind I am having my students work upon at least two composition projects during the third-year Latin course. The regular classwork is of course devoted to Cicero; the composition is done by the students in their spare time with the help of the teacher.

This is the method which we use: The pupils select their subjects with the advice and approval of the teacher. Some may wish

<sup>1</sup> C. M. Gayley, *Classic Myths in English Literature*: Boston, Ginn and Co. (1904). \$1.92.

to write their own stories or poems; others prefer to translate passages from an eminent author. After the selection has been approved by the teacher, the fascinating work begins. The pupil feels that he is doing something original, and this factor helps greatly in offsetting that germ of monotony which students are bound to develop if they are not given a variety of work. Again, when the student has difficulty in translating a certain idiomatic English phrase into Latin, he is almost compelled to consult the teacher. The third- or fourth-year Latin student is apt not to consult the teacher, and thus there is lacking that contact between student and teacher which is of such great benefit to both.<sup>1</sup>

ELWOOD L. ORTT

EMAUS HIGH SCHOOL  
EMAUS, PA.

#### The Story of Iphigenia in Modern Dress

In *Twelve One-Act Plays for Study and Production* by S. Marion Tucker there is a brief drama entitled "The Aulis Difficulty, a Travesty," by Maurice Baring. The quotations given are taken from the editorial comment on the play. "The author founds his plot upon the famous old Greek legend of the sacrifice of Iphigenia" but "travesties the original situation by putting into the mouths of the characters what sounds very like modern ideas and sentiments, thus reducing a theme and situation essentially noble and dignified to the level of satirical fun." Ginn and Co., Chicago, New York, Atlanta (1929).

#### Word Ancestry

Readers of this department who were interested in the two little word stories concerning "esteem" and "sanguine and sanguinary" by Mr. Willis A. Ellis in the March issue of the JOURNAL will be delighted with his pamphlet "Word Ancestry," which has recently been published by the *Chicago Daily News*. More than sixty interesting stories of the origins of such English words as "pedagogue," "auspicious," "January," "influenza," and "vaga-

<sup>1</sup> In the department of Current Events for the April issue of the JOURNAL (p. 573) there was an interesting item concerning the recognition given to a composition project of one of Mr. Ortt's students.

bond" are included. Mr. Ellis not only has given the derivation of the words in an accurate, concise way but also has traced in a very natural, rather humorous manner the history of the words down to present-day usage. Both students and teachers will find the pamphlet invaluable in word study, and fortunately the price is low enough so that all may be provided with copies. The price is five cents, but single copies by mail will be seven cents. Twelve or more copies should be ordered sent by express collect. Address the Service Bureau of the *Chicago Daily News*.

#### Filmslides for the Bimillennium Vergilianum

The Spencer Lens Company of Buffalo, N. Y., announces the completion of two films, each containing forty pictures, dealing with the story of the *Aeneid* and selected by Helen H. Tanzer of Hunter College, who also has prepared an accompanying teaching manual. The same firm has prepared twenty films in the field of first-year Latin by the same author as well as a large number for the use of elementary schools. The filmslides do not require a moving picture machine but may be shown through an ordinary stereopticon by the use of a small piece of extra equipment.

#### A Class Project — a Roman House

The most interesting project worked out last year in my Latin classes at Capron, Ill., was the house of a well-to-do Roman in the time of Caesar made by the second-year group. After a great deal of research and study, plans for a house of this type were drawn up as each student pictured it. Then by vote of the class the one which seemed most typical was chosen, and the drawing was placed on the board.

We made the house in two parts — the house proper and the court — for the sake of convenience in handling. As a foundation we used two pieces of beaver board, each piece being about 3' x 4'. The walls and partitions were also of wall board and were fastened to each other and to the floor with corner braces. The outside of the house was covered with a stucco preparation and, when dry, was painted an ivory shade, giving the effect of the old Roman rock walls. The roof was made separately so

that it could be removed to expose the interior of the house. We also used beaver board for the foundation of the roof and then covered it with corrugated paper and enameled it red to give the old tile-roof effect. There was an opening in the roof, *compluvium*, toward which the tile sloped to throw the rain water into the *impluvium* below, which was represented by a mirror in a depression in the floor.

The front of the house was made into shops, *tabernae*, and the rest was used for sleeping rooms, banquet halls, library, and servants' quarters. Bright-colored awnings adorned the shop windows. The interior of the house was decorated in bright colors, and famous Greek and Roman characters were painted on the walls by the more artistic members of the class.

The court at the back of the house was the most beautiful part. Tall white candles were carved in true Roman style to represent marble pillars. Miniature flowers such as iris, narcissus, and hyacinths, made of crêpe paper and waxed, adorned the walks and lined the pools and fountains, which were made of mirrors and soap. The walks were painted with enamel and edged with sponges dyed green to represent hedges. Larger sponges dyed and cut to look like fir trees were placed in the garden and in front of the building. For the lawn, green paint was used as a foundation and covered with sawdust dyed green. Benches carved from soap were set here and there about the court.

Each room was furnished in a manner suggestive of the times. Dolls dressed as Romans reclined on the banquet couches.

Around the house were old Roman roads. As a foundation cement was used, and pebbles were fitted closely together in such a way that the middle of the road was at a higher level than the sides for drainage. One student brought two celluloid oxen and fastened them to a rude ox-cart loaded with hay. This was placed on the road.

Many interesting ideas were worked out by the students, e.g. a small dog on the threshold with the words *Cave Canem* in the floor. A magpie over the door to welcome guests was represented by a small celluloid bird in a cage. A wooden goat, hung outside

one of the shops, indicated a milk dealer's business place. The front door opened inward; and the steps leading to it were of an uneven number, as the threshold was considered an object of reverence and it was thought unlucky to tread on it with the left foot.

The most worth-while phases of the whole project were the enthusiasm which the students showed, the amount of reading and research that was done, and the interest that was aroused even on the part of the parents.

ROCKTON, ILL.

MRS. O. E. LOOMIS

#### Chats on Vergilian Books, Concluded

For the last book in our series I want to take up what is, so far as I am aware, the latest of Vergilian books. It truly belongs to the biblical society of *Vergiliiana* and is especially pleasing to us, since the author in a postscript to the volume informs us that she offers this as a "humble tribute to the Virgil [sic] Bimillennium." The book is called *Dido, Queen of Hearts*, by Gertrude Atherton.<sup>1</sup>

The first reaction the reader has is one of regret for the flippant title, which suggests a similar treatment of the subject matter and of the heroine. While this is unfortunate, the reader's mind is quickly disabused of the notion that this is a flippant book, an undignified treatment of a dignified personage and story. As a matter of fact, there is no trace of this quality, no false note throughout the book. And for this self-restraint we tender sincere thanks to the author.

Out of the three hundred and eighty-two pages of this volume, two hundred, six, and a half are taken up with pre-Vergilian material, that is to say, with the period of Dido's life prior to the wreck of Aeneas' fleet off the coast of Africa near Carthage. Vergil does indeed give a very brief résumé of this period (all that is necessary to the understanding of the succeeding story), which he puts into the mouth of the disguised Venus as she talks to her son in the forest. This passage is in *Aeneid* 1, 335-68, thirty-four lines.

While this brief account satisfies Vergil's technique as explaining Dido to Aeneas and to us, still Mrs. Atherton's vastly enlarged account of the queen's fettered and tragic life in Tyre, of the murder of her husband (Sychaeus), her vow to be forever true to him, her cleverly planned flight in company with the nobles who had remained loyal, her adventures by sea and in the several ports which she touched, until her final arrival

<sup>1</sup> New York, Horace Liveright (1929). Price \$2.50.

at Utica, the town nearest to the spot which she finally fixed upon for her city and colony, the menace of Iarbas, the huge Moorish king, and his defeat by Dido in a battle of wits in the matter of the measurement of land—all this is thrilling to the reader and immensely enhances his interest in that which is to follow.

"And then she gave a little cry. A flash of lightning revealed a strange sight. Ships were buffeting that mountainous sea. She held her breath. Another flash unveiled one poised on the dizzy crest of a wave, one struggling in the black pit beneath. What ships could they be?" Thus dramatically do we share with Dido the first inkling that the wind of fate has changed its course, as she sits there in her tower-chamber window looking out upon the black and stormy sea, her troubled mind trying to recall the now dim-grown Sychaeus. Mrs. Atherton's book is full of clever strokes, but none more clever than this entrance of the destined hero. Dido has but vaguely heard of him as escaping with a band of Trojan exiles after the fall of Troy—itself an incident none too familiar to her—and as having been sighted here and there in some port or on the stormy sea by a wandering merchant ship, then, from lack of further news, given up for lost.

Now, with the entrance of the dramatic action upon familiar Vergilian ground, our interest heightens; and we are constantly on the alert to see once more in this setting our well-known scenes and to discover any additional or changed features. For additional features we have Tadmelak, Dido's young prime minister, who had loyally followed her fortunes from Tyre and who is madly in love with her. In vain, for her vow to Sychaeus holds. Then there is Iopas, who is nothing but a harper in the *Aeneid*; but here in this fuller and more human story he is a clever young scamp, skilled, we are carefully but casually told, in impersonation, leader of the set of young nobles, all of whom are in love with the queen and, after the advent of Aeneas, most eager to get rid of him. Also much space is given to Iarbas and other characters, who are either not mentioned at all by Vergil or receive but minor notice.

For changed features, the most noticeable is the omission by the author of the entire *deus ex machina*, or supernatural agencies, which Vergil so doted on, and her method of bringing out the same effects by other and entirely natural means. Thus, instead of Aeneas' approach to the presence of Dido wrapped in a magic cloud of invisibility, we have that day a perfectly natural and accidental thick fog, which produces the same effect. Furthermore, no Venus, no Juno, no Cupid appears upon the stage or is evident as influencing the plot. A second notable change from Vergil's narrative is the fact that Dido and Aeneas are married, not mythically, but actually and openly. And now, after four months of

life in the palace as royal consort, full of activity, indeed, in directing the completion of the city and its walls, but uneasy in his mind (which must at times revert to his divine mission), yet lapped in luxury and still infatuated by his beautiful queen, Aeneas can not make up his mind to go his way.

It is at this point in the *Aeneid* that Mercury (yes; Mercury in open day!) appears to him and gives him Jove's command to depart at once. And so he does, also, in this present story. Only here it is Iopas, skillfully made up for the part. Having given his message to Aeneas, whom he finds alone by a remote section of the wall, he vanishes in an appropriate burst of light. Aeneas is wholly convinced; and, at last resolved, he gives orders to his Trojans for immediate departure. This ruse of Iopas, carefully planned by the Carthaginian younger set, is the crowning feature of the deviations from the Vergilian motivation.

From this point on the author follows Vergil; the actions, the speeches, the tragic dénouement are the same, with, of course, much more and more-realistic detail. It is a notable book. He who reads it after reading Vergil's first and fourth books of the *Aeneid* will find himself nowhere let down or offended by a lack of dignity in the treatment. And the student of Vergil who reads this book first will attack the Latin story with a wealth of background and of interest and expectation that could not possibly, in the usual rather slow and painful method of procedure, be his.

FRANK J. MILLER

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

## Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, O., for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the November issue, e.g., appears on October fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

### Atlantic City, New Jersey

At the meeting of the Department of Superintendence, National Education Association, in February, Frank B. Jewett, vice-president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, is reported to have said: "Do even less in the number of things you are now doing if by such a process you can do the remainder better. . . . Above everything avoid those processes or things which tend to make of education merely a pleasant superficial game, and so deprive the child of the opportunity to acquire capacity for hard intellectual work on what are frequently dry and disagreeable tasks." He added that business preferred to have high-school graduates come to them with a good general education rather than with mere specific skills, since industry had shown that it could provide the specialized trainings itself.

### Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

The regular spring meeting of the Classical League of the Lehigh Valley was held in the chapel of the Moravian College for Women, Bethlehem, Pa., on March 29, 1930. Members of the Vergil class of Liberty High School at Bethlehem presented the playlet, "In Honor of Vergil," written by Lillian B. Lawler, which proved a pleasing and especially fitting introduction to the richly illustrated lecture "From Vergilian

"Topography" by Walton Brooks McDaniel of the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. McDaniel, in well-chosen words that sparked with wit and humor, gave an exceedingly interesting presentation of the people, places, and things as outlined particularly in the *Aeneid*, at all points showing how human the people of ancient days were.

#### Boston College

After an interval of over a year the Greek Academy was reorganized in October, 1929, with this difference from the old, that membership was limited to Freshmen. A modest program of four public meetings for the year was decided upon, though the weekly meetings had been productive of much profitable discussion, especially in regard to things Homeric. The success of the first public meeting was very encouraging. At this session, which was introduced by an illustrated lecture on the *Iliad* by one of the members of the Academy, the Achillean books of the *Iliad* were presented for translation and literary appreciation. Another feature of the meeting was an enlightening paper on "The Human Element in Achilles."

At its second public meeting the Academy presented a dramatization of the opening scenes of the *Iliad*, with a view to showing how naturally tragedy could have been developed from the epic, as outlined in an introductory paper on "Homer and Tragedy." An exposition of Aristotle's *Poetics* was also given.

The program of the third public meeting included an exposition of the *Antigone* and *Electra* of Sophocles, with a dramatic interlude from the former play. The concluding session of the year consisted of a presentation of the *Odyssey* of Homer, with a comparative study of the epic.

#### Cambridge, Massachusetts

The Eastern Massachusetts Section of the Classical Association held its twenty-third annual meeting at the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, on February 8, 1930, in conjunction with the Classical Club of Greater Boston. The following program was given: "A Word of Welcome," by Elliott B. Church, president of the Section; "Theocritus and Vergil," by Mary H. Buckingham, Boston; "Cooperation between School and College in Classical Education," by Frederic J. DeVeau, Groton School; "Lucian and Menippus," by Barbara P. McCarthy, Wellesley College; "Oriental Art" (illustrated), by Grace E. Hackett, Boston; and "Arretine Pottery and Roman Industrial Art" (illustrated), by George H. Chase, Harvard University. About a hundred members and friends were present.

**Moline, Illinois**

*Dido and Aeneas*, a pageant-drama prepared by Erna Kruckemeyer, was presented by the Latin department of the Moline High School on February 28, 1930, with a cast of ninety-eight students under the direction of M. Fern Slusher, head of the department. It is reported to have been the best play of its kind ever staged in Moline.

**Philadelphia**

The Philadelphia Classical Society has instituted an annual award of the sum of two hundred dollars to be given upon application to a member of the Society who is teaching Latin, for travel and study in Italy. It is recommended, but not required, that the successful applicant attend the summer session of the American Academy in Rome. The award for the summer of 1930 was given to Frances de Mauriac of the duPont High School, Wilmington, Del., who will attend the American Academy in Rome. The Italian ambassador in Washington, through the consulate in Philadelphia, will furnish winners of the award with official credentials entitling the holder to special privileges in Italy.

**Tennessee Philological Association**

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Tennessee Philological Association was held at Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn., on February 28 and March 1, 1930, under the presidency of Nellie Angel Smith of West Tennessee State Teachers' College. The following papers bearing on classical subjects were presented: "The Prophetic *Eclogue* of Vergil," by C. E. Little, George Peabody College for Teachers; "Some Variant Readings in Plato's *Phaedo*," by George B. Hussey, Maryville College; "The Seventh Book of Vergil's *Aeneid*," by R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University; "Aeneas Respiciens, the Hero with the Backward Gaze," by Helen E. Galbreath, Knoxville High School; "Lucus *Vergilianus*," by Nellie Angel Smith, West Tennessee State Teachers' College; "Through Hadrian's Arch," by H. J. Bassett, Southwestern; "The Rhetorical Importance of Lucan's *Pharsalia*," by John B. Emperor, University of Tennessee; "The Validity of Certain Recommendations of the Classical Report," by Robert L. Ladd, Bristol High School; "The Development of Epic Art as Indicated in the *Aeneid* and *Paradise Lost*," by Elizabeth Lee Harris, Lincoln Memorial University; and "An Ancient Champion of Freedom, the Athenian Demosthenes," by T. C. Hutton, Carson-Newman College. Officers were elected for next year as follows: president, James D. Bruner of Middle Tennessee State Teachers' College; vice-president, Ethel Claire Norton of Tennessee College; and secretary-treasurer, E. L. Johnson of Vanderbilt University.

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Compiled by LILLIAN B. LAWLER  
Hunter College

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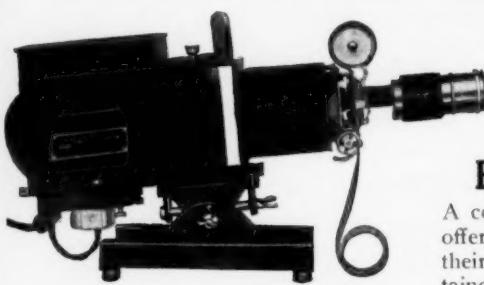
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